THE EFFECT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER ON ENGLISH SHIPPING 1650-1688

THESIS

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By

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To

Jane, Pamela, and John "L" Jr.

This Study is

Gratefully Dedicated

by the Author

As a Token of Love and Affection

PREFACE

The primary objective of this study is to present the facts indicating the effects of the discovery of the American Frontier on English shipping, 1650-1688. The territory consisting of the American Frontier as used in this study is limited to that part of the land that is now the United States, bordering the Atlantic Ocean from Maine to South Carolina inclusive, in addition to the British Caribbean possessions of Barbados, St. Christopher, Montserrat, Nevis, Antigua, and Jamaica.

Since the days of Frederick Jackson Turner, the term "frontier" has been given an increasingly wider application, and this tendency has reached its peak in the writings of Walter Prescott Webb, who gives to the term "frontier" a Western Hemispheric significance. My use of the term is not so ambitious, and I have defined the word "frontier" as used in this thesis as those territories of the American waters unknown to England prior to the discoveries, which subsequently became a part of the British Empire. When the term "frontier" is capitalized in this work, the reference is to the area as defined in the above paragraph.

Although the term "frontier" as used in this sense may be unfamiliar to some European readers, nevertheless it does not seem to have been unknown in the middle of the seventeenth century. For example in one colonial record, Jamaica was spoken of as "our frontier Plantation in America." (C.O. 138/1, p. 17; March, 1661/2). The African and Asiatic frontiers were other places to which English merchants were trading.

A good deal of material on trade in general has been included in this study, for obviously it is difficult to make a clear cut distinction between trade and shipping. I am not concerned with the design of ships, but am primarily interested in the amount of English shipping to the Frontier.

The spelling and capitalization of words are based on works of American authorities, and the writer apologizes to those individuals who are hindered in reading this work due to the American style.

The author is familiar with the American Frontier having travelled in all of the states under discussion as well as having spent almost two years in the Caribbean waters on a U.S. Navy ship navigating among the West Indian Islands. The writer also has had experience on a farm in Central Texas in planting, harvesting, and grinding the juice from the sugar cane and processing it into molasses and sugar.

This thesis originated at the University of Texas in 1947 when the author was taking a course under Dr. Walter Prescott Webb. The collection of materials for this work was begun at the University of Texas: thence to sources in Edinburgh, Oxford Libraries, British Museum, Public Record Office, and surrounding depositories. The writer also spent time in the libraries along the East Coast of America from Maine to Virginia. The greatest source of printed contemporary materials in the United States is to be found in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island. The Library of Congress has a select amount of material on this period, much of which

is in the form of photostats and transcripts from the British Museum and Public Record Office in London. Approximately three years of full time research have been done in the procuring of information for this study, in addition to other intermittent periods of research.

The obligations incurred for assistance in developing this thesis extend to numerous persons and staffs of institutions in the United States as well as in England and Scotland. The personnel of the above cited depositories, and especially the employees at the Public Record Office, British Museum, Bodleian Library, Rhodes House Library at Oxford, University of Edinburgh Library, John Carter Brown Library, and the Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts were untiring in their efforts in helping the author to locate information. The research that has been necessary to complete this work, extending over a period of several years, could not have been consummated without the constant encouragement of my wife. Mr. K. G. Davies, of Oxford, was generous in making available to the author the manuscript of his forth coming book, "The Royal African Company," which is to be published in the summer of 1956. Professor Richard Pares, of All Souls College, Oxford, was very kind and considerate in making many helpful suggestions in regard to the outline of this study. To Mr. George A. Shepperson, Lecturer in Imperial and American History at the University of Edinburgh, the author is indebted for his reading the thesis and for his valuable suggestions and constructive criticisms. For the contents of the thesis, the author, of course, takes full responsibility.

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ABBREVIATIONS

These source materials, found in the Public Record Office in London, are cited throughout this paper by the call numbers as indicated, with the exception of the Calendar of State Papers Series, and have been invaluable in compiling information for this work.

A.O. -------- Audit Office Papers.

C.O. -------- Colonial Office Papers.

C.S.P.C.----- Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies.

C.S.P.D.----- Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.

E. Series.---- Port Books.

T. Series. --- Treasury Papers.

PART I

THE TRADE OF THE CONTINENTAL COLONIES 1650-1688

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Brief Account of English Shipping Prior to 1650

English shipping developed from infancy to greatness after many centuries of trials, tribulations, and almost unsurmountable obstacles. Prior to reaching the peak of her glory, according to J.R. Seeley, she went through the three stages of civilization: (1) First, the potamic age at which time the people carried on their intra-nation trade and communication via the rivers; (2) Second, the thalassic age in which the people progressed to encompassing the inland seas in their transporation and trade, with the English channel being defined as inland sea; (3) Last, the ocean which indicated the desire of expansion of her commerce and markets.[1] England began the potamic period prior to the Norman Conquest of 1066, and by the time of the Conquest, the people had advanced to the thalassic stage whereby a petty and sporadic trade was in progress between London and the continent, with lead and tin being exported in exchange for French wines. Although this trade existed, it was so small, erratic, and transported in undecked, clinker-built boats that England could not be said to have a merchant marine.[2] She began the ocean stage with John Jay embarking from Bristol on July 15, 1480, in search of Brazil; Jay was forced to return to Ireland due to strong winds, and John Cabot was privileged to complete the first successful voyage of the ocean stage in 1497 by his landing in Newfoundland and skirting the shores of North America as far south as Maryland.[3]

While England was progressing through these stages, an extensive trade had developed in the Mediterranean, which [illegible] was the center of trade and traffic of the Western world.[4] However, England was beyond the terminus of the trade routes and did not participate in this traffic. The Mediterranean was one of the distributing points for the spices, silks, fruits, and the many other exotic items imported from the Far East. These much sought after articles were very expensive and could only be purchased by the affluent, for the cargoes were transported from Asia by camel caravans; thus, restricting the amount that could be imported.[5] The Turks capturing Constantinople in 1453, severing a large portion of the trade between Europe and the Far East, made the discovery of a new route a necessity if Europe was to continue to obtain products from Asia.[6] Prince Henry, The Navigator, and his seamen were busy endeavoring to unlock the "doors" of a sea route to India. Bartholomew Diaz in 1486 rounded the Cape of Storms, rechristened by his monarch the Cape of Good Hope. Christopher Columbus was soliciting the aid of various European monarchs in order to make an exploratory voyage in search of a water route to India. He sent Bartholomew, his brother, to beg assistance from Henry VII, while he, himself, went to Spain. After much hesitation, Henry agreed to give Columbus the necessary money to finance his voyage. Bartholomew enroute to Spain to inform Christopher of the good news, received word that he had obtained funds from the Queen of Spain and had sailed.[7]

> But for Henry's hesitation, the whole course of European history would have been changed. The discovery of the New World gave Spain temporary supremacy of the seas that it might have given similarly to England. However, the dazzle of the gold might have blinded England's eyes as it did Spain's, to sound commercial policies; and Britain might never have reached the goal she was to seek for two more centuries, of abiding sea power, gained and retained by the aid of wise laws and regulations.[8]

Discoveries continued to be made, for in 1497 Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed to Calcutta, India, and was the first European to take on a cargo from an Indian port. The importation of silks, spices, and other desired luxuries from India and surrounding areas by ship reduced the price of the articles in Europe by two-thirds. In 1500 Vincent Pinzon of Portugal discovered and explored along the coast of Brazil, while Ferdinand Magellan had circumnavigated the globe by 1519.[9] These voyages along with other explorations cut the "tap root" of the trade of the Mediterranean, resulting in the shifting of the highways of commerce and traffic to the Atlantic. These changes placed England on the main sea lane of that valuable Frontier trade that was to develop within the next century and a half.[10] Prince Henry, The Navigator, might well be accepted as the most important individual instrumental in unlocking the doors of the New World of plenty, for Columbus and other distinguished explorers were influenced by his teachings and the work of his students. Adam Smith declared:

> The discovery of America and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind.....[11]

Land available to Europe prior to the discoveries had continued to remain unchanged since the time of the flourishing Roman Empire. Thus, with these new lands thrown into the "lap" of Europe, trade, commerce, and communications were emancipated from their limited confines and brought forth in a new era in which each could flourish. These new frontiers of wealth affected everything present within Europe directly or indirectly, and the nations of Europe that were first to become recognized as strong national powers of the world were those countries that held possessions on the frontier.[12]

> Never in the annals of the modern world has there existed so prolonged and so rich an opportunity for the businessman, the speculator, and the profiteer....[13]

The Portuguese, opening up the route to India, gave that country the monopoly of that trade, and Lisbon became the mart from which all of Europe secured the products of the Far East at a great expense. Spain annexed Portugal in 1580 and took over the control of the market at Lisbon, and upon the discovery of America, she had become the leading frontier power. Bullion was flowing into her "coffers" in 1516 from the West Indies and by 1533 the mines of Peru were disgorging even greater quantities of precious metals with much of the gold and silver going to England in exchange for woolens and food.[14] The discovery of America, with its tremendous amount of wealth and resources, set in motion the beginning of a "long and bitter international rivalry" as to the ownership and trade of those vast tracts of land beyond the seas.[15]

As Spain, Portugal, Italy, and other countries were beginning to thrive with trade and activity in the early part of the sixteenth century, the shipping of England was still in a lethargic state. Although England enjoyed considerable "administrative unity" at an early date along with her European neighbors, and she also had obtained a claim to a portion of the New World; yet, she was slow to procure a foothold on the Frontier due to religious "dissension that destroyed national unity and made progress in commerce difficult."[16]

England not only had to solve the problems of her internal strife, but she had to obtain control of her shipping which was in the hands of foreigners. The exports of England were initially lead and tin, but wool subsequently surpassed those articles. Foreign merchants were controlling the export trade of England because of two reasons: (1) the

geographical location of England was beyond the terminus of the medieval trade routes; (2) and the Italian, Flemish, and Germans, who had control of the trade, were located on these routes and had had long experience in sea traffic. The English were mere apprentices in the field of seamanship, and the French merchants even began to dominate the wine trade to England, after the Normans in 1066 introduced wine drinking into the country. Subsequently, the Hanseatic League took over control of the English trade. The League operated under organization names. The Hanse House of Cologne established a factory in London in 1157 and this branch controlled the Rhine waterway over which came articles from the South, being transported through the mountain passes of Italy. The House of Cologne prospered throughout the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, but later relinquished the control to the Easterling branch of the Hanse.[17]

The Easterlings consisted of a coalition of the seaports of the North Sea and the Baltic coasts from Bremen to Riga. This organization dominated the trade and fisheries of the North Sea, balancing the articles drawn from Flanders, England, and Norway along with those obtained from central Asia through Poland and the great Russian mart of Novgorod. Rising in power and strength in the thirteenth century, and with the accumulation of further power, they were able to establish factories in London, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynn, Boston, and Hull, and to arrogate to themselves the exclusive use of the title of the Hanseatic League. Their motto was absolute supremacy of the trade in their area, and the English merchants had a teriffic struggle to survive such strict competition. The Hanseatics did not dominate all of the trade of England; there were routes to and from England over which the Hanse had no control, one being the Flanders route.[18]

The English Merchants of the Staple were organized in the thirteenth century, and the Merchant Adventurers were established at the beginning of the fifteenth century. These two English organizations formed a close corporation, under royal patronage endeavoring to keep as much shipping in the hands of the English as possible, and had a monopoly of the exports of all unmanufactured wool and hides to their staple of Calais. The manufacture of woolen cloth had begun with the reign of Henry I in 1135 or earlier, and the Flemish immigrants were probably responsible for bringing the weaving technique to England. The cloth in the beginning was coarse and inferior to that of the cities of Flanders and Italy, but subsequently, the methods were improved and the English wool as well as the cloth was recognized as superior to any in Europe. This knowlege spread and Italians and Venetians began importing comparatively large quantities of this commodity in the fifteenth century.[19]

This century was an era of increasing industries with expansion and progress being made in weaving, iron works, copper mines, gunmaking, ball-founding, brickmaking, and in the making of silks and ribbons. The expansion in these fields placed a demand upon the shipbuilding industry for a greater number of ships. Thus, as England began to grow industrially and in trade and commerce, the Eastland Company established by Henry IV, which became extinct in the fifteenth century and subsequently rechartered by Elizabeth in 1579, along with the Merchant Adventurers were able to exert enough pressure on the foreigners resulting in the complete expelling of the Hanseatic League from the Steelyards in 1598. The merchants of England were slowly increasing in numbers and sharing a greater portion of the

shipping of the country.[20]

Although the trade of England was in the hands of foreigners almost from the time she became a unified country until near the close of the sixteenth century, her limited industry and commerce were slowly advancing especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and requiring new markets. William Hawkins, a wealthy shipowner of Plymouth, made the first three English trading voyages to the New World from 1530-1534 trafficing with Brazil, and upon his retirement, he continued to send his ships to the frontier via Africa. Merchants from Southampton and London were sending ships to Brazil from 1540-1542; trade between Russia and London was begun around the middle of the century along with the trades of the Levant, Barbary and Azores. John Hawkins was making trading voyages to the Spanish West Indies between 1562-1568; Francis Drake was trading in the vicinity of the Gulf of Darien and the Isthmus of Panama between 1570-1573. Thus, the infant tenacles of English trade were reaching many parts of the world and the merchants were determined that the arms of trade were to continue to grow larger.[21]

Spain monopolized the waters of the American Frontier in the sixteenth century, and was obtaining great quantities of gold and silver from her possessions. England was jealous of Spain and her wealth, but was yet too weak to openly contest her supremacy of the seas, and share in the trade of that area. However, the English Sea Dogs and privateers were preying on the rich Spanish galleons on their return from her possessions in America. People invested in the privateering expeditions as readily as people today invest in any type of business. Many fortunes were made by the English preying on the Spanish, Dutch, and French. Sir Francis Drake's expedition of 1577-1580 brought home

treasure valued at more than £ 600,000. Queen Elizabeth's share amounted to £ 250,000 or £ 300,000. Shipping was becoming more profitable, for the syndicate which financed Drake's voyage round the world, received a net profit of £ 47 for every £ 1 invested, or a profit of 4,700 per cent on a two years voyage.[22] Profits of this size were enough to turn the thoughts of any bold speculator in the direction of such patriotism. Drake's brilliant campaign on the Spanish coast in 1587 was financed on the principles of a joint-stock company with the Queen as chief shareholder. Men such as Drake, Hawkins, and the leading London merchants were thinking of national interest as well as what Drake called "a little comfortable dew of heaven."[23]

As England began contesting Spanish supremacy of the overseas commerce and trade, she began constructing her maritime vessels more durable, with longer keels, slimmer lines for greater speed and striking power, and to be better adapted to the open sea. Progress in ship design was continuous throughout the reign of Elizabeth, for previously, the ships had been constructed for inland and coastal waters.[24] The English fleet was expanding as indicated by Drake's "broadsides" at Cadiz in 1587, which sounded the "death knell" of the Spanish galley fleets. Further corroboration of the increasing growth of shipping was the decided defeat of the great Spanish Armada in 1588 revealing to Europe that England had risen to become the leading sea power of the world.[25]

While the discoveries of the New World frontiers were in progress, England had no "pretensions whatever to take the lead," and in the maritime world, "whether in war, discovery or colonization," England could not "pretend to take any high rank" until after the defeat

of the Armada. As late as the close of the sixteenth century, England had no colonies, factories, or settlements, and was still an infant in the shipping industry.[26] However, in the reign of Elizabeth, England began to realize and discover her vocation to trade and the dominion to the sea, and in the latter part of the reign, the maritime greatness of England was beginning along with becoming an expanding manufacturing nation.[27]

The American frontier possibly did not have too much effect on England until Sir Francis Drake and his fellow merchants or pirates began to prey on the frontier shipping of Spain, as well as the raiding of her settlements in Central and South America. The exploits of these men probably opened the eyes of England to her great possibilities on the American frontier. Such ideas of England's future commercial policy on the frontier may not, however, have effected her appreciably until the incident of the Spanish Armada.[28]

> But from this time forward, European affairs begin to be controlled by two great causes at once, viz. the Reformation and the New World, and of these the Reformation acts with diminishing force, and the New World has more and more influence.[29]

Thus, as England began taking her place in the maritime ranks of nations and sharing a portion of the world trade, she too, began to think of overseas possessions. The exploits of the privateers taught her seamen the routes to America and the West Indies, and a considerable number of large ships were being constructed as a result of the greatly accelerated rise of English naval power. There were 48 occasions on which the bounty for shipbuilding was allowed between 1592 and 1595, and between 1596 and 1597 the bounty was allowed on no fewer than 57 ships including 8 of 300 tons to 400 tons and 32 between 200 tons and 300 tons.[30] These

factors, with Martin Frobisher's and John Davis' voyages in search of a northwest passage, along with Sir Walter Raleigh's and Sir Humphrey Gilbert's endeavors to establish colonies, presented the people with a better knowledge of the Frontier and were points of encouragement in paving the way for people to migrate to the American Frontier.[31]

The frontier of England in the sixteenth century was the Atlantic and in the beginning of the seventeenth the boundries had reached the American mainland, the West Indies, and Guiana.[32] Many factors, some of which were increasing population, agricultural expansion, greater demand for shipbuilding materials and lumber for houses, made the colonial expansion of England "an economic necessity" in the seventeenth century.[33] Upon the accession of James I, the war with Spain was terminated and considerable activity began to take place in the field of commerce for the merchants were anxious for trade either in finding independent markets or by illicit traffic among the Spanish settlements. "The Governor and Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies" was chartered by Elizabeth in 1600 and the participants began making tremendous profits from that branch of commerce. Pepper was being purchased for two pence per pound and selling in England for twenty pence per pound. The permanent settlement of Jamestown in Virginia was begun in 1607; attempts at colonization on the Amazon were being made within the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Before the middle of the century England also had colonies in Bermuda, New England, Maryland, Leeward Islands and Barbados from which she began importing tobacco, sugar, furs and other valuable articles.[34] Thomas Mun reported in 1621 that

"England had never yet more shipping than at this present."[35] The East India Company by 1628 was employing 1,000 men in building and repairing ships, making guns and naval supplies. Trade and shipping in England was flourishing as never before in history. Ships were growing larger, sail plans more complex along with navigation becoming more scientific;[36] however, the full impact of these changes were delayed until the last half of the century.[37]

B. Brief Account of the Economic Conditions Prior to 1650

The development of trade, industry, and shipping of England in the sixteenth century resulted in the country being more prosperous by the beginning of the seventeenth century than any time in the past.[38] Prior to the opening up of these new trades, England had a very limited variety of food, and subsequently,

> .... the wharves began to be piled high with new strange goods, the tables were set with exotic foods of delightful flavors, and new-minted coins of gold and silver rattled in the coffers of the market place.[39]

Many changes were taking place by 1650: occupations were being modified; people were moving to the centers of trade; standards of living were being raised; streets were being lighted and paved; cities as London, Liverpool, and Bristol were increasing in size, wealth and population; farmers were enclosing their fields and receiving more pay for their produce; homes both in the country and the city were being better constructed, furnished, and with more windows; and the textile mills of Manchester were expanding beyond all previous accounts.[40]

The people of England until 1640 were governed to a great extent in thought and actions by customs and religious views. However,

with the Reformation and the Civil War of 1642, people became more liberal in thought and became more individualistic in all phases of life. The merchants and industrialists began looking for better methods and means of profit along with new markets.[41] A revolution became apparent in the social, intellectual, economic, domestic, and political ways of life. The Civil War also resulted in reforms in taxes, abolition of feudal incidents, the adoption of excise taxes, new land taxes, reforms in agriculture, along with the relaxation of the restraints on industry. Even though England in the first half of the seventeenth century had gone through trade depressions, political strife, and turmoil and the beheading of a king, she had continued to slowly progress in trade and the industrial fields as a result of her expansion of traffic and commerce. However, with these many setbacks, the American Frontier was just in the infant stage of production by 1650, but the basic foundations for trade and commerce had been laid and only required time and peace for rapid expansion and wealth to the possessors.[42]

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

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6. George Louis Beer, The Commercial Policy of England Toward the American Colonies (New York: Columbia College, 1893), 26-27.

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10. James E. Gillespie, The Influence of Overseas Expansion on England to 1700 (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920), 35.

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12. Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Frontier (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952), 142-147.

13. Ibid., 195, quoting John Maynard Keynes, A Treatise on Money (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930), II, 159.

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16. Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), IV, 3-4. See also Norman G. Brett-James, The Growth of Stuart London (London: George Allen & Unwin LtD., 1935), 17.

17. Williamson, op. cit., 4-8.

18. Ibid., 4-13.

19. Ibid., 4-32.

20. Ibid., 32-53.

21. C. Ernest Fayle, A Short History of the World's Shipping Industry (New York: Dial Press, 1933), 136, 151-152; Leone Levi, The History of British Commerce and of the Progress of the British Nation, 1763-1878 (London: John Murray, 1880), 28; Moyse-Bartlett, op. cit., 60-61.

22. W. R. Scott, The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720 (Cambridge: University Press, 1910), I, 81-82.

23. Fayle, op. cit., 60-61, 156. See also Seeley, op. cit., 124; Gillespie, op. cit., 166-168.

24. Webb, op. cit., 168.

25. Fayle, op. cit., 153-154, 158. See Appendix note 1 for growth in shipping.

26. Seeley, op. cit., 94-100. See also Gillespie, op. cit., 320.

27. George Louis Beer, The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 3n.

28. Seeley, op. cit., 92.

29. Ibid., 92.

30. Fayle, op. cit., 129, 154.

31. C.S.P.C. 1574-1660 p. IX.

32. Fulmer Mood, "The English Geographers and the Anglo-American Frontier in the Seventeenth Century," University of California Publications in Geography, VI, No. 9 (Berkeley: University Press, 1944), p. 363.

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35. Thomas Mun, A Discourse of Trade from England into the East Indies (London: Nicholas Okes, 1621), 23-24, 30-38.

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42. E. Lipson, The Economic History of England, The Age of Mercantilism (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1943), III, 305-308, 318, 386-387. See also William Potter, The Key to Wealth (London: R.A. 1650), 1; Alan Burns, History of the British West Indies (London: George Allen and Urwin LtD., 1954), 288.

CHAPTER II

SOUTHERN COLONIES

A. Virginia and Maryland

1. Founding

England, becoming a leading world power and master of the seas in the reign of Elizabeth, had ambitious merchants and tradesmen desiring and soliciting new markets and outlets for their commerce. Unsuccessful attempts in colonization had been made in this reign; however, in 1603, when the peace with Spain officially put an end to privateering, syndicates such as those that had financed the large privateering expeditions, began to turn their attention to the founding of colonies. There was no immediate necessity for establishing colonies in America other than as a source of raw materials and a future vent for the output of factories and trade.[1] However, the economic desire coupled with promoters and literary writers as Robert Thorne, Richard Eden, and Richard Willis projecting commercial expansion ideas, resulted in attempts to establish overseas settlements in the sixteenth century; and every settlement established in the seventeenth century, with few exceptions, had "at least one literary justification for the enterprise."[2]

Thus, after many attempts of colonization in Guiana and the continent of America, the first permanent settlement of Virginia was established in 1607, with the grant of the patent being issued on

April 10, 1606. James I granted two charters in 1606 to a group of gentlemen, merchants, and adventurers; the land consisted of what is now Maine to Cape Fear. The southern part was granted to the Virginia Company of London, and the northern portion to the Virginia Company of Plymouth. England, after having established a claim to the territory by Cabot's voyage in 1497, had finally planted a permanent colony.[3]

Virginia was the first experimental colony, and the success of the undertaking influenced further colonization in America, resulting in the founding of another southern colony, Maryland. Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was granted a charter on June 20, 1632 and two ships arrived on the Capes of Virginia on February 27, 1634.[4] The investors in the Virginia project had gold as their "navigational stars" and were expecting quick returns. Captain John Smith, the father of Virginia, reported that the enterprise was prefixed by the desire of "no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold."[5] So, the investors in establishing these colonies on the continent along the Atlantic seaboard were disappointed in their dreams of gold and precious metals, for the territory "....lay north of the gold and south of the furs in a land where wealth waited on a lot of hard work....."[6] All of the participants and investors in the colonies were hoping for gold and easy money, but while in search of precious metals, quick returns, and adventure, the colonists of Virginia began to observe the natural resources of lumber, fruits, abundance of fish, the fertile soil along with the many other advantages of the new land; and realized the vast amount of wealth on the Frontier for which the demand in Europe was great. Consequently, only after much suffering

from lack of food and all hopes of quick returns were gone, did the colonists begin to cultivate the soil and utilize the available wealth of natural resources.[7]

Colonization, in the beginning, meant to England the expansion of trade rather than that of race or sovereignty; and the Frontier produced great hopes in the people regarding the future of commerce between the Frontier and England. The new land was looked upon as the future "farm" of England, supplying her with the many commodities and necessities that she had previously been purchasing from her neighbors for exorbitant prices.[8] These expectations had to wait for a few years, for considerable time was required in the initial development and establishment of a settlement before interest on the investment could be expected. Francis Bacon expressed the idea very well in his "Essay on Plantations" when he wrote:

> Planting of countries is like planting of woods, for you must make account to loose almost 20 years' profit and expect your recompense in the end.[9]

2. Products and source of labor

Although the London Company was to supply the colony with the necessities of life, this stipulation was not fulfilled; consequently, the primary objective of the first settlers of Virginia upon their arrival was to secure food, subsist, and think of progress and trade at a later time. Indian corn was one of the most essential items for food, and the colonists began planting this grain as a necessity. Corn continued to be one of the products of agriculture throughout the period of this study. Ten thousand bushels were exported to New England in 1634, and in that year, Virginia was said to have become "the granary of all His Majesty's northern colonies." Subsequently, wheat and maize

became products of the farm while cattle raising was always an important function of the small landowner. Every planter had a cow which supplied milk and butter; and hogs, goats and beeves provided the meat.[10]

Once the colonists in Virginia had provided themselves with the basic food crops, experimentation was begun to find a staple money crop, which soon was found to be tobacco. The word was derived from "tabaco," a term used by the West Indians for the "Y-shaped tube or pipe" through which they inhaled the smoke of the leaf.[11] Tobacco began to attract attention in England in the last half of the sixteenth century, for the product began to be planted in England upon the return of Hawkins from Florida in 1565. Sir Francis Drake took a considerable quantity of this commodity to England in 1586, and he "....is accepted as having fixed the habit....," of using the product in England; while Sir Walter Raleigh is accredited with popularizing the use in social circles.[12] Columbus mentioned the use of tobacco in his journal in October, 1492, and was probably the first European to make reference to the commodity, which came into use on the Continent prior to being introduced into England. Tobacco was being grown in 1590 by the Spaniards in Trinidad, Cuba, and Venezuela because of the ever increasing demand; and by the beginning of the seventeenth century, this leaf had been introduced in all continents except Australia. Prior to England or her possessions producing a sufficient supply, most of the tobacco was imported from Spain. The first official record of a shipment of the article into England was in 1602, at which time, a shipment of 16,128 pounds was imported.[13]

Tobacco was found to be such a profitable article that initial

planting and experimenting of this crop in Virginia was made by John Rolfe in 1612, with exportation of the first cargo to England in the following year.[14] Because of adaptability of this plant to Virginia soil, along with the ever-increasing desire by the people of England and Europe, tobacco became the staple crop of the colony. This plant was the "key" to the wealth of the colony; and although frequent attempts were made throughout the years of this study to influence the colony to grow flax, indigo, produce silk, tar, pitch, and other useful commodities in quantity, the pleadings were all in vain.[15] King Charles I in 1627 declared that he did not want this province which was "wholly built upon smoke to rely on a single crop."[16] The people in Maryland as well as Virginia were so interested in planting tobacco that an insufficient quantity of food was being produced in either colony. Consequently, the legislative body of Maryland passed laws requiring that a minimum of two acres of corn were to be planted by every individual who was producing tobacco, or forfeit a certain quantity of tobacco,[17] for these colonies were purchasing farm products from the Dutch. The demand for this leaf was the cause of the failure of any endeavor to produce any other raw material in quantity in the colonies. However, in the last few years of the seventeenth century the colonies did become a little more diversified by producing more grain, cotton, planks, cedar timber, tar, and pitch, but never was there a serious thought of abandoning the tobacco crop.[18]

Even though the tobacco was in great demand, there had to be people to plant and harvest the product, for between 3,500 to 4,835 plants[19] were in each acre producing 500-1600 pounds of tobacco with one man being able to tend about three acres.[20] The "....disproportion between the great extent of the land and the small number of people, which

commonly takes place in new colonies....," however, made labor very scarce.[21] Tobacco was difficult to grow, cure, and prepare for shipment; and these facts were not understood in England. "Those who imagine that tobacco grows without any trouble, and that rolls of it are, as they say, found growing on trees in America," were laboring under falacious ideas. The laborer and slave worked in the field in a hot sun all day and worked half of the night preparing the tobacco for shipment.[22] Thus, the growing of tobacco required much more labor than most other products.

The average size of land grants to an individual in the last half of the seventeenth century in Virginia was 674 acres, but the growing of 100 acres of tobacco required 21 whites and 50 slaves; therefore, the colonists usually had more land than could be utilized until a sufficient supply of labor became available.[23] The majority of the labor supply of continental America during this period of study consisted of indentured servants or redemptioners. These people were those who were either unwilling or lacking in sufficient funds to pay their passage to the Frontier, resulting in the fee being paid by some colonial plantation owner. The individual paying the passage received in return the services of the person for a period of years as indicated in the contract. This source of supply consisted of convicts, rebels, whores, rogues, military and political prisoners, the indigent, or other undesirables being thrown out of the country.[24]

John Pory wrote from Virginia in 1619 that the principal wealth consisted in servants and in utilizing them in the growing of tobacco. The transporting of servants was a very profitable enterprise for the English merchants, and scarcely a ship left for the Frontier without servants

aboard charging as much as £6 per person for passage. Frequently kidnapping and duress were used in obtaining a load of labor, and this method of procuring personnel for the plantations persisted until the American Revolution; even though Parliament passed a law in March, 1670 making such actions a capital offense.[25] The Council of Foreign Plantations in 1664 declared that "....people are the foundation and improvement of all plantations and the people are increased principally by sending servants thither....."[26] Throughout this period of study great numbers of indentured servants were imported into the Frontier. Oliver Cromwell initiated the procedure for shipping large numbers of unwanted persons to the colonies, and was responsible for many Irish, Scots, and Royalists being transported to the colonies and sold as indentured servants. Numerous non-conformists during the reign of Charles II and the prisoners of the Monmouth Rebellion in the reign of James II, along with Irish offenders were shipped off to the Frontier and sold into labor.[27] A total of 10,000 servants were transported from the one port of Bristol between 1654-1686 to Virginia, Maryland, and other colonies of the Frontier with approximately 5,000 of them being sent to Virginia.[28] The servants were the "Nerves and Sinews of a Plantation"[29] and between 1665 and 1681 an estimated 1,500 servants migrated to Virginia annually, but this number was not sufficient; the demand always far exceeded the supply.[30]

Dalby Thomas, a contemporary of the period, declared that people are wealth only when they contribute to the welfare of the nation; and all of the people sent to the colonies were said to employ four to thirty persons back in England; but a few writers declared that this was true with the exception of those people who settled in New England.[31]

Although slavery had been introduced into Virginia and Maryland, the numbers in the colonies at the close of this study were negligible. Sixty to sixty-five per cent of the plantations in Virginia in the seventeenth century had no slaves and in 1670 about one-twentieth of the population of this colony were slaves, with an average of only 1.5 slaves per farm in Virginia at the close of the century.[32] Most of the small number of slaves in Maryland were used as house servants and the colonies did not begin receiving an influx of that source of labor until the closing years of the seventeenth century. The slave did replace the indentured servant by the beginning of the eighteenth century; although the colonies were increasing in servants and population by 1650 and were in the process of developing a lucrative trade with England.[33]

3. Trade and shipping

Tobacco, the first valuable export from the American Frontier colonies, sold for a premium in England. The exorbitant price made this luxury prohibitive to the poorer classes of people; however, an occasional reference was made in 1613 of the use of tobacco by the common villager.[34] Approximately £60,000 were spent in 1610 in importation of tobacco, and the amount had increased to an estimated £200,000 by 1613, with 7,000 shops licensed to sell this valuable product by the following year. The population was consuming about 1,000 pounds daily by 1621, and Virginia in 1629 was exporting over 1,000,000 pounds annually to England.[35] Many contemporaries were opposed to the use of tobacco, but the consumption continued to increase, regardless of the ill effects that were to arise from the use. Regidius Everaerds published a pamphlet in 1659 in behalf of tobacco in which

he stated that:

> Were the planting and traffick of tobacco now hindred, millions of the Nations, in all probability must perish for want of food, their whole livelihood almost depending upon it. So many Druggist, Grocers, Tobaccoshops, Taverns, Inns, Alehouses, Victuallers, Carriers, Cutters and Dryers of Tobacco, pipe-makers, and the like, that deal in it will prove no less.[36]

The great desire for tobacco at home as well as in Europe, made the monopolizing of the trade by England difficult. For reasons of revenue, James I issued a proclamation in 1619 prohibiting the growth of tobacco in England. Two men in 1620 were given a monopoly of importing this commodity into the country for one year in payment of £10,000. Shipments were being made direct from Virginia to foreign ports resulting in the Privy Council in 1621 prohibiting the export of any commodity from this plantation to any foreign country until after such products had first been landed in England and the customs paid. This rule remained in effect even after the London Company was dissolved in 1624. However, with the increased production of tobacco in Virginia, the price of the article declined, and these circumstances brought about a disregard for the rule and an expanding trade with the Dutch. The trade between the Dutch and the Frontier colonies increased during the Civil War of England, and by 1650 a large portion of the commerce of the colonies was being controlled by the merchants of that country. England, endeavoring to recapture the trade of the Frontier, hurriedly improvised an act in this year prohibiting the trade by any foreign country with any English colony without the expressed permission granted by Parliament or the council of state. Although the act excluded all nations from such trade, the primary object was to dislodge the Dutch from the lucrative

commerce of the American Frontier.[37] The people of England began to realize that the merchant was the "guard of the nation and Steward of the Kingdoms Stock," and legislation was being enacted to protect him as well as the trade of the country. The merchant sailor was to bring England her wealth and acquire her an empire.[38] As tobacco began to be produced in England and on this new Frontier, the importation of Spanish tobacco was greatly reduced by placing high taxes on that article in interests of her own merchants, which of course meant more shipping for England. However, a small quantity of Spanish tobacco continued to be imported into England throughout the period of this study. In 1639, 111,268 pounds[39] were imported from Spain whereas in 1688, the amount had declined to only 16,180 pounds.[40]

This article was becoming a considerable source of income to the customs by 1631, and Charles I issued a proclamation limiting the importation of tobacco to the port of London in order to better control the customs; but as so many ships were taking tobacco into the western ports on pretense of strong winds, an order was issued allowing importations into Bristol, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Southampton and London.[41]

The population of Virginia was rapidly increasing, being 8,000 in 1640, with 15,000 in 1649, and 40,000 by 1666. Along with the people multiplying five times in twenty-six years, the shipping and trade of Virginia also was expanding.[42] The export of tobacco of the colony in 1619 was 20,000 pounds and increased to 500,000 within the following seven years. In 1623 as many as forty-two ships were trading from England to Virginia and returning with tobacco.[43] Considerable wealth was coming from the colony by 1634 not only from the importation of

tobacco, but from the sale of manufactured goods to that possession; such as woolens, shoes, harness, bridles, cooking utensils, and many other products of the industries of England. The production of tobacco in the colony was expanding at an almost unbelievable rate, for by 1639, 1,091,773 pounds were imported into the city of London.[44] Tobacco was such a lucrative business in England that one retailer admitted in 1644, to mixing 1,300 pounds of tobacco stalks with the leaf and selling the mixture for tobacco. Not infrequently, incidents of this nature arose whereby retailers were mixing foreign matter with tobacco and selling the contents as pure tobacco.[45] The exports of Maryland and Virginia were not only increasing the shipping of England, but were resulting in the expansion of her manufacture and industry; for "....whenever the traders thrive, the public of which they are a part thrive also."[46]

The conditions within England in 1642 brought on the Civil War, resulting in a depression of trade and commerce affecting any community or element associated with that phase of livelihood. Ships proceeding to the Frontier were taking risks, causing freight rates to increase, which affected trade of the colonies in general.[47] Although England was engaged in a Civil War, the Cromwellian period witnessed the

> ....highest pitch of trade, wealth and honour that it in any age ever yet knew....The riches of the nation showed itself in the high value that land and all our native commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulency.[48]

The Dutch had taken control of much of the trade of the Frontier by 1650, and with their initiative and aggressiveness had become the "carriers of the world." Although England had lost a considerable amount of her colonial trade, she was sending a minimum of 100 vessels annually to the Frontier by 1653.[49] The affairs of the Frontier were mostly in the hands

of Cromwell and the Council of State from 1654-1660, and,

> ....the management of the colonies during the Interregnum was without unity or simplicity. Control was exercised by no single or continuous organ and according to no clearly defined or consistent plan.[50]

Disputes and problems of the colonies were frequent and long delay resulted in many questions never being settled. The merchants of England recognized the shortcomings of government control and were very dissatisfied with the administrative system after 1655. A council of trade was appointed in August, 1660 which endeavored to guide the affairs of commerce until 1660, but were unable to prevent the waning of trade.

The years of 1654 and 1655 were important in the trade and commerce of England in that merchants were endeavoring to find, explore and obtain more markets for their produce as well as to bring in more raw materials. The Frontier became a world of "opportunities" for the merchants of England. More than 4,600 pairs of shoes between 1653 and 1658 were exported to Virginia alone, in addition to harness, bridles, saddles and other goods made of leather. All phases of the metal industry were encouraged by the demand from the Frontier for hardware, hoes, nails, carpenter's tools, pistols, muskets, and other essentials made of metal. However, the idea of these vast fortunes did not consummate in the decade prior to the Restoration because of the political disturbance in the government.[51] In 1658 and 1659, not only a "cessation" of activity existed as far as the government was concerned, but also a rapid decline in trade, reduction of profits, shrinking of fortunes, and widespread discouragement by the populace as a whole. Although Oliver Cromwell was interested in the trade and commerce of England, he did not seem to have the knowledge and comprehension of a large workable

scheme for solving the commerce and trade problems confronting the nation at that time.[52]

The Frontier continental colonies were more or less disregarded by the government until the accession of Charles II in 1660, and in the beginning of this reign, the sea power, trade, and commerce began to expand.[53] The nation was deeply in debt to the sum of approximately £2,000,000 and approaching insolvency upon Charles' accession to the throne. He realized that "Trade is the life of a State, /and/ manufactures are the sinewes of trade....,"[54] and that his hopes in settling this debt lay in the assets of the customs of the American Frontier.[55] The immediate need for money to defray the indebtedness of the government, resulted in framework being set in motion to accomplish these ambitions. The Dutch had made Holland the "distribution center" for the tobacco of Maryland and Virginia; however, upon the passing of the Navigation Act of 1660, along with the supplementary acts, the Restoration government changed the depot of that commodity to England. The government, to further insure the revenue from this plant, placed the commodity on the enumerated articles list in 1660; and prohibited the cultivation in England, Ireland, and Wales to prevent the reduction of the customs.[56] These two possessions were instrumental in placing a sizeable sum of money in the treasury each year, and that sum was increasing annually; for in 1662 to 1663, a total of 7,367,140 pounds of tobacco was imported into England. Maryland and Virginia had a monopoly of this trade and all of this amount was imported from these colonies with the exception of the small quantity coming from the West Indies, Bermuda, and Spain.[57] Customs of two pence per pound were being collected on all tobacco brought into England from the colonies until 1685; and the sum realized by the treasury on the above pounds was approximately £61,393, which was quite an increase

from about £10,000 being collected in 1621 when the customs was five pence on the pound.[58] These figures of importations were compiled from the records of the customs, but were not accurate, for considerable smuggling of that article into England existed throughout the study. An example illustrates the point: in 1665 tobacco was being imported into Bristol and Liverpool for custom purposes at 250 pounds per hogshead and re-exported at 400 pounds. Thus, an accurate account of the tobacco imported into England was an impossibility. Even though large amounts were smuggled into the country, the treasury was still receiving a considerable annual sum of money from the tobacco colonies.[59] The Commissioners of Customs in November, 1661 reported that,

> ....the plantations are his majesty's....without charge to him raised and supported by the English subjects, who employ above two hundred sail of good ships every year, breed abundance of mariners, and begin to grow into commodities of great value and esteem, one of which tobacco pays more custom to his majesty than the East Indies foure times over.[60]

The expansion of trade and commerce of England was causing the increase and growth of her port cities. Bristol became famous as a tobacco and sugar trading port in 1655 and was spoken of as "little London," and was the second busiest port in the kingdom.[61] Customs duties on tobacco collected in Bristol in 1662 amounted to £12,000, and by 1666 the tobacco trade had further increased with that city having 6,000 tons of shipping and half of it being engaged in this trade. In the one month of November, 1666, thirty ships left Bristol for Virginia.[62] While importing tobacco from Maryland and Virginia, these ships were exporting to those colonies from England large quantities of manufactured articles. Permission was given one merchant to export 1,000

dozen pairs of shoes to Virginia, and another 500 dozen pairs. In 1658 a merchant was authorized to export 3,000 horses to that colony, and by 1664 the large quantities of tobacco being exported to England made possible the purchase of manufactures to the sum of £200,000 by those two colonies. Ships importing the finished goods to the colonies not infrequently carried cargoes valued from £12,000 to more than £20,000.[63] The port city of Liverpool also was affected through the expanded shipping activities of England. The population of the city quadrupled between 1660 and the close of the century, and the trade, commerce, and wealth greatly increased "....with a rapidity which had never been previously known," and Liverpool became the third largest port in the country.[64]

Tobacco was still a very profitable article of trade but the Great Plague of 1665 increased the consumption and further facilitated the popularizing of tobacco in England. Most everyone who ventured out on to the street partook of this "herb" in hopes of warding off that scourge which was striking down so many people of that nation, and ultimately "swept away" approximately 100,000 individuals. All doctors and nurses ministering to the sick along with those caring for and collecting the dead were constantly smoking for self-protection. Even the school children were forced to use tobacco.[65] A contemperary of the time expounded the effects of tobacco on the body,

> The vertues of Tobacco are these, it helps digestion, the Gout, Tooth-Ache, prevents infection by scents, it heats the cold, cools them that sweat, feedeth the hungry, spent spirits restoreth, purgeth the stomach, killeth nits and lice; the juice of the green leaf healeth green wounds, although poisoned; the Syrup for many diseases, the smoak for the Phthisick, cough of the lungs, distillations of Rheume, and all diseases of a cold and moist cause, good for all bodies cold and moist taken upon an empty stomach it precipitates digestion, immoderately taken it dryeth the body,

> enflameth the bloud, hurteth the brain; weakens the eyes and the sinews.[66]

The official recorded record of the importation of tobacco had increased within six years by reaching the total of 9,026,046 pounds in 1669.[67] However, more tobacco was shipped into England from the colonies than these figures indicate because that article was continuing to be smuggled into the country. The master of a ship in 1670 brought in 400 hogsheads of tobacco and only entered 170 for purpose of paying customs. Fraud of this nature was very profitable, for this would mean that customs were not paid on 230 hogsheads of tobacco, and at 500 pounds per hogsheads, the net weight would be 115,000 pounds.. This quantity at two pence per pound customs, the master of the ship would be making approximately £959 along with charge of the freight of transporting the tobacco. Profitable and illegal transactions of this nature were not limited to the masters of ships. Bribery and shady deals were contracted between the shipper of the article and custom officers, whereby the money on tobacco imported, but not entered on the official books, was divided between the two parties. Greater frauds of this type were practiced more in the outports than in London. The shipmaster of one of the outports in 1671 had stowed 10,000 to 15,000 pounds of tobacco in his stateroom in hopes of evading the customs and realizing some extra money at the expense of the government. Smuggling was a great incentive and a profitable illegal trade in the lucrative imports of tobacco.[68]

The expansion of England's own shipping resulted in the increase of her foreign trade, and of this commerce, the American Frontier, the colonial trade proper, was assuming an ever-increasing importance to England. This trade increased between 1660 and 1670 whereby

one-tenth of the foreign shipping of England was utilized in the Frontier traffic.[69] The government and people of England began realizing that the nation which has the greatest share of shipping and commerce will abound in "plentie and Riches," thus, being stronger and resulting in a dominating influence over other nations lacking resources, initiative and industry. England began utilizing the advantages available to her and was becoming more progressive in her trade and industry as the new materials from the Frontier increased.[70] She was acquiring more colonies in this period and, as a result, greater and expanding markets for the finished products of her industries. Colonel John Scott in 1662 in his "Preface to an intended History of America" declared that within sixty years, trading had "....increased and greater /and/ greater flocks of Merchants and Citizens were/....generally more wealthy;" that shipping had increased in tonnage and numbers; that the number of "wharfs" and keys had increased five times; "which increase, it is apparent we owe principally to the American Trade."[71]

> The examination of the custom books will indicate the advance of Customs with the graduale growth of the plantations, /and people/, will be abundantly satisfied when they see that the growing up of the great forrest of Ships now in being, the building of so many wharfs, keys, and warehouses &c., the numerous swarmes of merchants, citizens, Artificiers, Mariners and other industrious people of this nation continually increasing both in number and riches, have sprung up as the plantations increased and flourished abroad, and not otherwise.[72]

Favorable reports were being made from Virginia and Maryland in the late 1660s and the early 1670s. One ship returned with news that the colonies were "full of tobacco and in a very prosperous condition." One hundred ships loaded Virginia tobacco in 1667 and the statement was made that they left that much behind.[73] Sir John Knight

reported in 1673 that Virginia was paying into the treasury £150,000 annually from tobacco and that within a few years that colony would probably be paying to the government £250,000 per year. Further indications of the shipping of England expanding in 1673 were the increase in stowage houses, which were being constructed much larger along with more wharves for accommodating the greater number of ships.[74] The steady increase in the growth of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland was indicated by the fact that in 1675 the amount imported into the country was 11,518,000 pounds and the following year the figures increased to 12,756,500 pounds. The treasury realized for these two years £97,650 and £106,304 respectively, disregarding drawbacks, which was a sizeable sum to the government along with the employment of thousands of men and ships to handle and transport the commodity to England.[75] Upon its arrival in England, the tobacco had to be prepared for retail and sale to the public, employing a tremendous number of people. In the following year, 230 ships departed from London alone enroute to the Frontier,[76] and the Commissioners of Customs reported to the Lords of Trade in 1678 that, "....the Plantation trade is one of the greatest nurseries of the Shipping and Seamen of this Kingdome, and one of the greatest branches of its trade."[77]

The facts were proving the theory that whenever England founded a colony, she was founding a "nation of customers," and in sending her undesirables to her possessions she was bringing into existence lucrative vents for her industry and trade.[78] The foreign trade of England had increased enormously by 1675, for she was re-exporting half of the imports from the Frontier.[79] Along with the ships required in the importation of the great quantity of tobacco in 1675 and 1676, a considerable number of smaller ships were used in distributing the amount

re-exported to the European nations.[80] France was importing a large amount of the Frontier tobacco from England during this period.[81]

The colony of Maryland in 1673 was exporting a little more than one-third of the amount of tobacco being exported by Virginia. The customs derived from the Maryland tobacco were estimated as £40,000 in this year and was the only product of export of the colony.[82] This article was very cheap, selling for a penny a pound in the colony and had been, and became a glut on the English market in 1662, 1663, 1666-1668, 1680, 1681, and 1682; even though the English market was "flooded" with tobacco in the above cited years, the production of this item continued to be increased.[83] The treasurer wrote in 1680 that the revenue of England is "always improving by trade and good management."[84] Attempts were made in these years by Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina to reduce production, but due to the dissension among the colonies, an agreement could never be reached.[85] The commissioners of custom reported to the Lords of Trade in 1681 that,

> The average receipts of the customs from tobacco in the last three years have been 100,000£. If the planting of tobacco should be stopped for a year, we doubt whether the greater part of this sum would not be lost, leaving out of account the loss to the shipping of the country.[86]

Charles II was requested to issue a proclamation to limit the growth of this commodity, but he refused, for this action as indicated would reduce the revenue of the treasury.[87]

However, in 1683, Nicholas Spencer of Virginia wrote that,

> ....the quickening of the tobacco market has encouraged the planters to work vigorously, and I have never saw a more promising crop.....[88]

Tobacco in the amount of 109,000 pounds[89] was imported into London in the one month of October, 1681, and in this year, Lord Culpeper of

Virginia wrote that England received more revenue from this colony "....than all the other plantations together....."[90] All of the people in Europe from the royal palaces to the humble commoner were smoking the tobacco from the American Frontier.[91] The English government realized the importance of this trade and further recognized the value of this plant to the treasury; consequently, in 1685 an additional imposition of three pence per pound was placed on this article, making a total custom of five pence per pound which of course, tremendously increased the income of the treasury. The "drawback" or "rebate" of 4½ pence per pound, however, was returned on all tobacco that was re-exported from England.[92] This additional imposition was placed on tobacco for that item was in such demand throughout Europe that it could withstand such a tax and continue to be a profitable article of trade.

The trade in tobacco continued to be such a lucrative business, that by 1685 considerable amounts of stalks of this product were being imported into England both with the tobacco as well as separately, and the retailers would soak, press, and cure the stalks with the tobacco realizing a considerable profit, for the stalks were being purchased for approximately £1 per hundred weight.[93] The importance of this trade not only resulted in mixing of foreign matter with the commodity, but the rate of tax evasion was intensified. The merchants and traders opposing the new imposition on the tobacco in 1685 declared that this tax would greatly encourage the "....defrauding of customs, and especially in the Out Ports and Creeks."[94] The prevention of smuggling of tobacco into England was almost an impossibility because of the many small inlets, coves, and places available for carrying on this illegal

trade. Illegal practices and corruption of the trade continued throughout the period of this study even though continuous attempts were made to reduce such infractions of the law.[95] Ireland also was importing 1,000,000 to 3,000,000 pounds of tobacco annually and was another area where smuggling was being practiced.[96]

The tobacco colonies had not as yet reached their peak of production, for the amounts designated below are indicative of this fact:

Year	Imported into London[97]	Imported into outports	Total
1685(Jul-Sept)	4,891,509	1,630,503	6,522,012
1686	14,514,513	4,838,171	19,352,684
1687	14,067,177	4,689,059	18,756,256
1688	14,874,359	4,958,119	19,832,478

The figures on the imports into London are correct, but the importations for the outports is an estimated one-third of that shipped into London.[98]

The tobacco colonies of Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina continued to increase in output of that commodity and between 1663 and 1699, the production increased six times and continued to even greater expansion in the eighteenth century.[99] The merchants of England, by the close of this study were re-exporting approximately one-half to two-thirds of this tobacco throughout Europe.[100] The importance of these colonies to England is indicated in the receipts received from importations of Frontier tobacco into England disregarding any drawbacks:

Year[101]	Custom per Pound[102]	Receipts
1641	5d.	£ 27,083
1662	2d.	61,393
1669	2d.	75,230
1675	2d.	97,650
1676	2d.	106,304
1685	5d.	128,818
1686	5d.	435,389
1687	5d.	485,541
1688	5d.	422,278

As a half to two-thirds of the tobacco was being reexported by the close of this period, [illegible] more ships were employed in redistribution, but less money came in- to the treasury because of the 4½ pence drawback on every pound reexported.[103]

Dalby Thomas expressed the thoughts of the English people toward the colonies in 1690 when he said, that the duties from the tobacco trade brought in a great sum of money to the crown,

> ....besides the great quantity of Shipping it Employes ....the Collonies are to the Nation the most useful and profitable Hands Employ'd and the best Trade we have, both to the Consuming the Woolen-Manufactory of England, and the Encouraging of Navigation.....[104]

Figures are not available, and there is no way of determining the additional amount of tobacco imported into England annually and not accounted for in the above tabulations. The addition of the three pence per pound duty on tobacco in 1685 greatly increased the smuggling of tobacco into England, as previously noted, and caused a considerable loss of customs to the treasury. From information previously cited, the merchants by 1688 possibly were importing an additional 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 pounds more tobacco into the country than the books indicated. Regardless of the loss in customs, however, the treasury and the country as a whole were profiting from England being the possessor of such estates beyond the seas.

The ships importing the large quantity of tobacco from these colonies were far above the average in tonnage in comparison to English ships trading in Europe. Sixteen ships departed from London in October, 1681, enroute to Virginia with an average of 198 tons each. Tobacco was bulky and required large vessels.

The ships also were larger than those trading to the sugar islands; for the product of the sugar cane was much more compact than the tobacco.[105] Virginia and Maryland by 1688 were employing 200 English ships annually; the colonies thus being great assets to England.[106] The colonies were further spoken of as being so important by the close of the century that the tobacco was the "mainstay of English shipping."[107] The number of ships trading to these two colonies by 1714 had increased to 448 indicating a tremendous increase in production and customs to the English treasury.[108]

All of the products of Virginia and Maryland were not being exported to England for small quantities of tobacco were being exported to other Frontier colonies. This trade began as early as 1631 between Virginia, Massachusetts, and New Amsterdam. Tobacco was exported in exchange for food supplies which were formerly purchased from England and Europe. This trade continued throughout this time along with a considerable trade with the West Indies. By 1650, the rapid increase of the wealth of the sugar planters of Barbados resulted in a greater demand for food along with horses and oxen to work the mills, which were obtained from Virginia and New England.[109] Virginia was importing from 200,000 to 300,000 pounds of sugar from the West Indies possessions in the 1670s. In 1679, eight ships traded between Barbados and Virginia, and this commerce which had begun in the 1630s continued to increase. Virginia also exported pork, flour, hogshead staves, and hoops to Jamaica and the islands.[110]

The act passed in 1673 for the "Better Securing the Plantation Trade" resulted in records being kept of the inter-plantation trade, but is not too accurate, for the collectors were not always enthusiastic

in performing their duties; however, these records do indicate a considerable trade between the colonies. Maryland and Carolina also traded with the continental colonies and the West Indies, but not to the extent of Virginia, for the population in the two colonies, and especially Carolina, was not nearly as great as in Virginia.[111] The growth and progress of the American continental colonies were greatly facilitated by the lucrative trade with the West Indies, especially toward the close of this study.[112]

B. Carolina

1. Founding

The area of Carolina was granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1629 by Charles I, with boundaries on the south being the thirty-first parallel of north latitude and the northern boundary the thirty-sixth parallel. As no settlements had been made in this territory by the grantee by 1663, Charles II voided the patent and granted the area to eight proprietors, some of whom were Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, and others. However, these men did not settle the area until the early part of 1670, for the settlers arrived in Barbados in November, 1669, enroute to Carolina.[113]

Northern Carolina was spoken of as South Virginia in the 1650s and was claimed by Virginia until 1675. During this time, the legislature of Virginia had been granting land to settlers in that area, but few colonists had penetrated Albemarle in the 1650s. This territory was peopled mostly from the "spill-over" from Virginia settlers.

The proprietors had many promotional schemes endeavoring to settle their grant. Robert Horne wrote a description of Carolina

in 1666, and so did Robert Sandford in the same year. Sandford was hired to make a voyage along the coast and then wrote a report of the area to attract settlers. Thomas Ashe made a further report of the area in 1682 speaking of the great number of mulberry trees and the possibility of production of silk. Regardless of the many reports of Carolina, the area of northern Carolina was very slow about attracting people.[114] The great obstacle to that area was the shifting sands, and changing currents making the approach of the harbors and rivers very dangerous for shipping. "Nature....decreed that commerce should not flourish on the coast of North Carolina," for the coast line is known as the "Graveyard of the Atlantic."[115]

2. Products, source of labor, and trade

The staple crop of Albemarle was tobacco with secondary crops of corn and wheat.[116] The output of tobacco was very limited, for the population by 1696 was estimated as only 1,400 people, with a third being Indians along with a few servants and slaves.[117] The colony because of the poor available harbors was exporting the tobacco through Virginia until the legislature in 1680 passed a law prohibiting the importation of Albemarle tobacco. This occurrence resulted in about six traders from Massachusetts and Rhode Island taking control of the trade and transporting the tobacco to New England. The trade was confined to New England and Bermuda and carried on in small sloops and boats that could maneuver into the shallow harbors and rivers. However, the exportation of commodities from Albemarle during this study was insignificant in that only a small quantity of tobacco reached England indirectly from that colony.[118]

Charles Town, in southern Carolina was established on the Ashley River approximately twenty-five miles from the sea in 1670; but in 1680 the town was relocated to the present site at the point of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, because of better possibilities of sea trade along with the new area being more healthful. This town became the center of trade of Carolina, and eventually became the most important town during the colonial period south of Pennsylvania. The population in 1690 was estimated between 1,000 and 1,200 persons.[119]

The products of Carolina in 1682 consisted of Indian corn, wheat barley, rye, peas, potatoes, hogs and cattle. Tobacco was raised in an insignificant quantity during this period. Tar and pitch were being produced in a limited amount, but were to increase greatly in the eighteenth century. Rice was introduced into the colony in 1688, but not until the eighteenth century did that product flourish and become a large item of export. In the next century rice became to Carolina what tobacco was to Virginia and Maryland.[120]

Samuel Wilson writing in 1682 declared that because of the shipping activities, Charles Town would soon develop a considerable trade. The main product of Carolina in 1682, however, was Indian corn, a small amount of indigo and cattle.[121] In 1671 and in 1674, a load of masts and cedar was shipped to England from Carolina, but the trade of this colony was very small by the close of this study for the population in 1675 was only 500 to 600 people.[122] In 1708, the population had increased to 3,380 whites, 120 white indentured servants, 1,400 Indian captives, and 4,100 slaves.[123] The proprietors writing in 1687 in regard to southern Carolina reported that

> ....the inhibitants having hardly overcome the want of victuals yet, and produce no commodities fit for European markets except few skins purchased from the Indians and a little cedar to fill up the ship that takes the skins to London, the whole not amounting in value of £2,000 yearly.....[124]

Carolina remained a "backward area" until the development of the cotton plantations in the eighteenth century.[125]

C. Factors Affecting Trade

1. War, pirates, and Indians [126]

The greatest enemy to trade and lucrative commerce is civil war, and the next largest obstacle is war with another country. England was in a civil war in the decade prior to 1650 resulting in a large amount of her Frontier trade being taken over by the Dutch. This war did not only affect the progress of trade in the mother country, but reached out to its possessions on the Frontier. Parliament passed an act in September, 1650, prohibiting trade with Virginia, Barbados, and Antigua because of their rebellion against the Commonwealth. People in the possessions took sides and the Civil War in England almost precipitated a civil war in Virginia. The tension rose to such a height that a squadron of ships was dispatched to Virginia in 1652 and the colony surrendered to the Parliamentary forces. This strife in England and on the Frontier caused a disruption of trade and harmony both in England and the colonies.[127]

The effects of the Civil War had not been "healed" before the First Dutch War begun in 1652 closely followed by the Second War in 1664, and the Third Dutch War in 1672. Trade always suffers during the time of war and these three conflicts were no exception.[128] Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina suffered from the "stagnation of trade." The risks of transporting goods to and from England was great, resulting

in the increase in price of freight rates as well as the rise in cost of English manufactured products.[129] However, the greatest effect was the loss of ships and valuable cargoes which was so detrimental to English shipping. The Frontier was not affected too much by the First Dutch War, but thereafter war took its toll. In 1665 and 1666 the Dutch took six Bristol ships loaded with 3,300 hogsheads of tobacco, while in 1667 nine tobacco laden ships with 6,000 hogsheads of this commodity on board were captured and burned in the James River in Virginia. Fifty-eight ships arrived at Plymouth and Bristol in August of 1667 and reported that the Dutch had taken thirteen merchantmen belonging to Bristol.[130] The English merchants also lost a considerable number of ships in the Third War, with nineteen being taken in November, 1673. The merchants began petitioning the King to furnish more protection for the Frontier ships and in September, 1665, Bristol merchants reported that twenty-four ships were loading in Virginia and pleaded for escorts to be sent to convoy them back to England. The heavy loss of shipping in the Second Dutch War resulted in the introduction of the convoy system with most all ships being convoyed to and from the Frontier.[131]

England, endeavoring to protect her colonies as much as possible transported large quantities of powder, lead, and guns to the Frontier.[132] Sir Henry Chicheley writing from Virginia in July of 1673 declared:

> It cannot be denied that Virginia yearly raises a greater revenue to the Crown by customs than any other plantation under His Majesty's dominions, therefore, they may justly hope for a sufficient supply of arms and ammunition.[133]

Virginia and Maryland appropriated large quantities of tobacco during the war years to help defray the expenses of defense; but regardless

of all endeavors of England and the colonies to protect their trade, the losses of ships and cargoes were heavy, causing the disruption of trade and commerce in general. In every war, England was able to survive because of her great amount of resources and the wealth obtained from her possessions; and with the signing of each peace treaty, she was gaining more in world power and further reducing the trade and traffic of her competitors and adding more shipping for her own merchants.[134]

War was a destructive factor affecting the trade of England and her possessions, but pirates and privateers played their damaging role on commerce by laying along the sea lanes and preying on English shipping throughout this period of study, with their actions becoming more prevalent before the close of the century. An act in 1670 encouraged the building of English merchantmen capable of repelling the attacks of these "raiders of the sea." The builders of three-decked vessels, sufficiently armed, were to receive a bounty of one-tenth part of the customs on the first two voyages. Builders of two-decked vessels above 300 tons burden were to receive a bounty of one-twentieth part of the customs on the first two voyages.[135] The large ships helped in warding off pirates, but the taking of merchant vessels continued. The Committee for Trade and Plantations in February, 1674, reported that the Spanish had taken seventy-five vessels belonging to England and the Frontier colonies.[137] In 1700 Colonel Robert Quary wrote that pirates "....ruin trade ten times worse than a war....."[138] Sloops were ordered at different times to patrol the coast of Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina to protect the colonies against the pirates, who were always a menace to trade and commerce until finally

being driven from the seas many years later.

The Indian raids and wars upon the settlers of the Frontier were other factors instrumental in affecting the shipping of England. The Indians hindered production and output of the products, thereby indirectly effecting the shipping. Virginia had a big Indian massacre in 1622 and another in 1644; thereafter, she and her neighbors were intermittently molested by the Indians for many years. Other than small ambushes, the most destructive phase of the Indians on the colonies was the Indian War in 1675. The Indians were harrassing settlers from Maine to Carolina, destroying villages, crops, trade, and killing the people. The guns, supplies, and ammunition were being furnished the Indians by the French, and a contemporary of the time wrote that the Indians were threatening to destroy the American colonies.[139] England was intermittently sending guns and supplies to the colonies throughout this Indian trouble. More than £60,000 in supplies were sent to Virginia in 1676 for defense against the Indians. Only a small fraction of the money sent to the colonies for defense was ever repaid to England.[140]

The Indian War in 1675 resulted in the Bacon Rebellion whereby Nathaniel Bacon raised a small army to fight the Indians against the wishes of Sir William Berkeley. The governor called together a number of men to hunt down Bacon. The forces met and a small skirmish was fought with some men being killed, prisoners taken, and fourteen men were executed. Bacon died in 1676, and a peace was also made by Virginia and Maryland with the Indians in that year, but not until after much suffering and death by the colonists along with the destruction of crops and the slaughtering of their cattle and animals.[141]

2. Planting tobacco in England and over-production on the Frontier

The effect of the planting of tobacco in England upon the trade of that article in the tobacco colonies has not been precisely stated, but enough was being grown to warrant the frequent protest by those merchants importing tobacco from America. The prohibition of planting of tobacco in the London area was made prior to 1619, and in that year, the proclamation applied to all of England. Further orders and proclamations were issued with Parliament passing Acts in 1652 and 1660 prohibiting the growth of tobacco in England, Wales and Ireland. Thereafter, frequent requests were made to the council of state to enforce the Parliamentary Act of 1652. The sheriffs of the different counties in England were ordered to prevent the raising of tobacco in their area. In 1654, a farmer made ready 100 acres of land to plant tobacco but was forced to seed it with other crops. In this year the commissioners of customs declared that if the "tobacco planting is not prevented in England, that the article from America will not even bring enough to pay the freight."[142] Tobacco growing in England increased after the Restoration, and regardless of the attempts made to suppress the production of that commodity, it continued to be grown until after the accession of William and Mary.[143]

The overproduction of tobacco on the Frontier caused that commodity to be a "glut" on the English market several years during the Restoration period, which caused a great reduction in the price. Various attempts were made on several occasions by Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland to cease planting that product, but the participating parties could not reach an agreement; consequently, tobacco continued to grow

in those colonies. People opposed to the continuing growth and overproduction of this article began going from plantation to plantation at night destroying the tobacco crops.[144] These night destructive parties became so prevalent that two men were executed in 1681, and to prevent further outbreaks, the assembly of Virginia passed a law in 1682 against the destruction of tobacco crops.[145]

Although five wars were participated in by the mother country causing effects on trade during this period of study, along with Indian raids, wars, rebellions, plagues, hurricanes and storms, and overproduction, the staple crops continued to increase in output resulting in and ever-expansion of trade and shipping of England and the interested colonies.[146]

D. Effect of the Founding and Settlement of these Colonies on English Shipping

1. Customs

The great effects of the settlements of Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina on English shipping are indicated by both the overall increase in customs and the marked increase in returns to the treasury from tobacco alone.

England had no overseas possessions in the reign of Elizabeth, and about the close of her reign, the combined customs were approximately £50,000 per annum.[147] However, within a few decade after the first permanent colony was established on the Frontier, her custom returns began to slowly increase and did so throughout the first half century even though many factors temporarily retarded trade.[148] The combined customs had reached £320,495 by 1651; approximately £420,000 by 1661; over £800,000 by 1677; and by the beginning of the eighteenth

century over £1,000,000. These facts definitely indicate a large increase of shipping.[149] The custom receipts from tobacco alone amounted to £2,000 in 1636[150] and £27,083 by 1641, and had reached over £200,000 by 1688. Even with the re-exportation of about half of the tobacco by the close of this study, the treasury still was receiving a sizeable sum of money in addition to the employment of great numbers of its people. England was the distribution center of tobacco for Europe; the commodity was being exported to France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and other European countries.[151] England had become rich and great in the last half of the seventeenth century because of the possessions on the American Frontier, and she could not subsist at the high standard that she had become accustomed to without the income from the colonies.[152]

2. Employment of shipping

The tobacco from the colonies was one of the greatest assets to the treasury and trade of England in the last half of the seventeenth century. England had been importing her tobacco from Spain and other countries at a price from four to sixteen shillings, prior to it being raised on the Frontier, whereby the merchants were purchasing the tobacco for approximately seven pence at the close of the period under study. Trade of this type was supplying the commodity desired by the mother country at a great saving to her people as well as transporting the commodity in English ships by Englishmen.[153] England's greatness dates from the Civil War,[154] and the increase of the output of the tobacco colonies from 20,000 pounds in 1619 to approximately 19,000,000 pounds by 1688, was a great influencing factor in the expansion of the English shipping.[155] The customs reports indicate an overall consistent

increase in shipping.[156] The ships transporting tobacco were larger ships than usual, for this commodity was bulky. In 1670, a convoy of fifty ships arriving in port laden with tobacco and forty ships of that number were loaded with 500 to 1,200 hogsheads of tobacco with each hogshead weighing 500 to 600 pounds.[157]

Thus, with all of the factors tending to retard the trade and shipping of England to Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina, these colonies by 1688 were reported as employing 200 sail of ships of 100 tons to 500 tons each.[158] As previously noted, the export of the tobacco of Maryland was employing about one-third to one-half of the ships utilized in transporting Virginia tobacco. In 1694, during a war year, English ships trading to Maryland numbered ninety-six,[159] which is further corroboration of the number of ships trading to the tobacco colonies. An embargo was placed on ships trading to the Frontier in 1690, and a list of vessels allowed to proceed to the colonies in this year indicates that about one-half the number or less were permitted to make voyages to the Frontier. In this year, 103 vessels proceeded to Virginia and Maryland, 71 to Barbados, 23 to the Leeward Islands, and 20 to Jamaica.[160] These figures again indicate that approximately 200 English vessels were trading to the tobacco colonies in 1688. Further interpolation confirms the above shipping, for the average hogshead of tobacco in 1690 weighed about 500 pounds with that of sugar weighing approximately 1000 pounds.[161] Barbados, as will be noted in Chapter V, was employing about 140 ships annually, which were importing several million pounds more sugar into England than the combined amount of tobacco; with tobacco being more balky and the hogsheads weighing about one-half that of sugar indicates that the number of ships reported as trading to the tobacco colonies at the close of this

study is logical. Approximately one-half of the tobacco was being re-exported from England, and further shipping was utilized in distributing this article throughout Europe. [162]

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NOTES

CHAPTER II

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97. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 1815, pp. 35-37; C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, Nos. 594, 595.

98. C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, Nos. 594, 595.

99. Williams, op. cit., 28.

100. Thomas, op. cit., 27.

101. See Appendix, note 5.

102. British Museum, Harleian MSS. 1238, pp. 2-3; T 48/7.

103. Ibid.

104. Thomas, op. cit., 27.

105. C.O. 324/4, f. 79.

106. British Museum, Harleian MSS. 1238, p. 2. See also C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, No. 2344; C.O. 390/6, ff. 131, 145.

107. MacInnes, Tobacco Trade, 4.

108. Documents Relative to Colonial New York, V, 615.

109. C.O. 390/6, p. 51; C.O. 33/13, pp. 1-2; C.O. 1/43; British Museum, Additional MSS. 8133, p. 237; C.S.P.C, 1661-1668, No. 809; 1675-1676, No. 1152.

110. A.O. 3/305/1; A.O. 3/305/2; A.O. 3/305/3.

111. Baines, op. cit., 390.

112. C.O. 5/286, p. 1; C.O. 5/287, pp. 79-81; C.O. 5/288; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 536; 1669-1674, No. 124.

113. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 156; Lefler, op. cit.,, 15-18, 29-40. See also Samuel Wilson, An Account of the Province of Carolina in America (London: Frances Smith, 1682), 1-3; Alexander S. Salley, Narrative of Early Carolina, 1650-1708 (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1911), 33, 65, 82, 111, 138, 142.

114. Lefler, op. cit., 35-42. See also C.S.P.C. 1700, No. 906; Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 245-249; C.S.P.C. 1696-1697, No. 149.

115. Ibid., 42.

116. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 192-205.

117. Salley, op. cit., 158.

118. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1223; 1681-1685, No. 37.

119. Salley, op. cit., 167-175. See also C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 315; 1700, No. 475; Beer, Commercial Policy of England Toward the American Colonies, 72.

120. Ibid., 144-147; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 664, 736; C.O. 5/286.

121. Edmund B. D'auvergne, Human Livestock, 164. See also C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 347, 472, 516, 1413; 1675-1676, No. 581.

122. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 1417.

123. Charles E. Carrington, The British Overseas; Exploits of a Nation of Shopkeepers (Cambridge: University Press, 1950), 322.

124. C.S.P.C. 1574-1660, pp. 341-344.

125. Craven, op. cit., 226.

126. The effect of the Navigation Acts on shipping will be discussed in Chapter VII.

127. D'avenant, op. cit., 263-264.

128. Wertenbaker, Virginia Under the Stuarts, 129-131.

129. Wertenbaker, Virginia Under the Stuarts, 129-131. See also Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, I, No. 659, 736; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 922, 1060, 1079, 1081, 1082, 1545; 1669-1674, No. 1141.

130. Latimer, op. cit., 345-346. See also C.O. 324/4, p. 41.

131. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1118.

132. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 1102, 1188, 1225, 1224, 1243, 1281, 1283, 1532.

133. Hunter, op. cit., 169.

134. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1226.

135. Hunter, op. cit., 169.

136. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1226.

137. Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, I, No. 1092, II, Nos. 59, 130, 142, 248, 270, 274, 331, 334, 340; C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 260; C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, Nos. 148, 444, 467.

138. C.S.P.C. 1700, No. 500.

139. Andrews, Our Earliest Colonies, 48; Craven, op. cit., 362; C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 876.

140. Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, I, Nos. 492, 502, 511, 559, 612, 655, 695, 761, 1082, 1096, 1101, 1141; 1681-1685, No. 2062; 1693-1696, No. 1791.

141. Library Congress, Harleian MSS. 6845; British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, pp. 541-553. See also Stith, op. cit., I, 73-76; C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, Nos. 438, 522; 1681-1685, Nos. 185, 1081.

142. Lipson, op. cit., III, 170-171; C.S.P.C. 1574-1660, pp. 403, 405, 417, 465-466; British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2543, p. 33; Acts of the Privy Council, 1680-1720, II, No. 7.

143. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 301, 307; Lipson, op. cit., 170-171.

144. MacInnes, Tobacco Trade, 139-140; Wertenbaker, Virginia Under the Stuarts, 89-91; Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, I. No. 639; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 406, 781, 1241, 1341, 1410, 1450.

145. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, Nos. 104, 186, 326, 495, 505, 652, 653, 1081; C.O. 5/1356.

146. MacInnes, A Gateway of Empire, 249; C.O. 138/1, p. 18; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 1310, p. xviii; Wertenbaker, Virginia Under the Stuarts, 132.

147. Baines, op. cit., 262.

148. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 478, f. 94; Hubert Hall, A History of the Customs-Revenue in England from the Earliest Time to 1827 (London: Elliot Stock, 1885), I, 246.

149. Baker Library, Harvard, MSS. 92, c1650-1659; Baker Library, Harvard, MSS. 92, II, 62.

150. T 35/1, pp. 1-2.

151. See supra page 37. See also E 190/148/6.

152. Potter, op. cit., 4-6. See also Bodleian Library, Rawlison MSS. 1670 "A" 478, f.96.

153. Thomas, op. cit., 26; Lipson, op. cit., III, 155.

154. Seeley, op. cit., 96n.

155. Bodleian Library, Rawlison MSS. "A" 478, f. 94; MacInnes, Tobacco Trade, 134. See also British Museum, Sloane MSS. 1815, p. 35; C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, Nos. 594, 595.

156. Potter, op. cit., 77; Hunter, op. cit., 136.

157. British Museum, Harleian MSS. 1238. See also Wertenbaker, Planters of Virginia, 115.

158. Ibid., 2.

159. C.O. 390/6, f. 145.

160. C.O. 318/1, f. 12.

161. Thomas, op. cit., 15, 26. The weight of the hogshead of tobacco and sugar did vary in weight during this period of study, but the average weight about 1688 was as indicated.

162. C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, No. 2344; Latimer, op. cit., 346.

CHAPTER III

MIDDLE COLONIES

A. New York and New Jersey

1. Founding

New York and New Jersey belonged to the Dutch prior to being taken by the English during the Second Dutch War of 1664-1667. The Dutch claimed the area between the Connecticut, Hudson, and Delaware rivers with their main trading post being called New Utrecht, but later changed to New Amsterdam.[1] New Amsterdam surrendered to Colonel Richard Nichols on August 29, 1664, and remained in the control of the English until the Peace of Breda in 1667. According to the terms of the peace, the Dutch possession was ceded to England; and Holland received Surinam, which they had taken from the English during the war.[2] The Dutch retook New York without resistance in July, 1673, and kept it until November 10, 1674. Charles II granted the land from the St. Croix River to the east side of the Delaware River to James, Duke of York, in 1664 and in June, 1674, the grant was re-affirmed after obtaining New York back from the Dutch.[3]

The settlement of the Hudson River and New York territory was begun by the Dutch in 1609 when Henry Hudson was making his explorations. Manhattan Island was purchased from the Indians in 1626 by the Dutch, who were seeking to further expand their trading posts and fur traffic with the Indians.[4] However, up until the capture of New Amsterdam by the English, New Netherlands was looked upon by the Dutch as

merely a composition of trading posts and the province was "....without unity, homogeneity, or compactness, either in race, religion, territorial settlement, or types of local organization and government."[5] The States General in February 1661 were encouraging people to settle the area between Virginia and New England declaring it,

> ....as yet uninhabited, abounding in grapes and other fruits, which grow naturally and far surpass any in Europe. The land very fertile in all kinds of grain; also very good tobacco and several sorts of dyes. Furs to be had of the natives very reasonable; store of saltpetre, excellent venison, elks, and marvellous plenty in all kinds of food, of land and sea fowl, and excellent fat and wholesome fish; the mountainous part of the country stored with several sorts of minerals, and great profit from traffic with the natives, who are naturally a mild people.[6]

When the Dutch province was captured in 1664, a reported 1,300 Dutch and 600 English were in the area, and the majority of the inhabitants remained in the territory and became British citizens.[7]

New Jersey was granted to George Carteret and John Berkeley in 1664 by the Duke of York, and Carteret's cousin was sent out to become governor of that territory in the following year. Upon his arrival, only 200 or 300 people, mostly Dutch, were widely dispersed throughout the area, but by 1668 a few more settlers were migrating to New Jersey. The land was divided into East and West Jersey, and by 1678 approximately 500 people were in West Jersey. East and West Jersey were combined under the government of the Crown after having thirty-eight years of proprietary rule.[8]

2. Products and source of labor

The products of both New York and New Jersey were the same, for the land was adjoining and producing the same commodities. The first products were furs, pelts, and fish with wheat, corn, peas, tobacco,

and other land provisions subsequently being grown. These colonies raised considerable numbers of cattle, hogs, horses; and produced pipe staves, deal boards, lumber, and small portions of pitch and tar in the latter part of this period, with a great increase in production of naval stores in the eighteenth century.[9] Whaling also was a trade of the colonies; men from Lynn, Massachusetts, settled the town of Southampton, Long Island in 1640, and by 1644, the town was divided into four sections with designated individuals of each section responsible for taking care of drift whales.[10]

The source of labor supply for these two colonies consisted mostly of the men and their families, for very few indentured servants and slaves were to be found in this area. The Dutch West India Company brought slaves in small numbers into New Netherland as early as 1650, but by 1664 only few servants and slaves were in the colony. In 1664, 1678,[11] and 1682 an occasional ship imported an insignificant number of slaves into the colony selling them for £30 to £35 with the money being absorbed in food provisions.[12] New Jersey had very few indentured servants and slaves; although slavery was mentioned in the acts of the colony as early as 1664, official regulation of that source of labor did not appear on the records of the colony until after the beginning of the eighteenth century. Labor in these colonies was scarce but the need was not so great as that of the tobacco growing area.[13]

3. Trade and shipping

The trade and commerce of New York and New Jersey with England was rather limited in comparison to that of Virginia and Maryland, for the most important products of these two settlements

were flour, bread, and peas, cattle, horses, and lumber, which were the same commodities as produced by the mother country. Consequently, the most important trade of the colonies was to the West Indies, which was "....essential to their very existence."[14] The two colonies, and especially New York, produced furs and pelts, which were exported to England. The Hudson River was navigable for 150 miles from its mouth, making easy contact with the Indians from whom most of the beaver, otter, and other forms of pelts were obtained. New York, disregarding Canada, was the center of the fur trade of the colonies, for the rivers in the other settlements were only navigable a short distance inland from the sea, making trade with the Indians and contact with the fur areas much more difficult. The fur trade was more important to the development of Canada than to the colonies now forming the United States. At first, the fur trade of the colonies was more important than at a later date, for the natural resources began to be developed and the interest in the fur trade declined. The Frenchmen pretty well monopolized the trade as they were more consistently on better terms with the Indians than were the English. After England obtained New York, 35,000 to 40,000 beaver skins were exported to England annually.[15]

Albany was the fur trading center of New York and was solely dependent on the trade with the Indians; consequently, every endeavor was made to remain on good relations with the five tribes of the fur bearing area, namely, Senecas, Cayongas, Onandagas, Oneidas, and Marquas Indians.[16] Beaver skins were in the greatest demand, and in 1666 reports were made that vessels arrived from Barbados and New York loaded with sugar, indigo, beaver skins, and masts; in the same year ships

arrived from New England and New York with masts and pelts.[17] Between 1674 and 1677, £1,331 10s. 5 1/2d. of these pelts were exported to England from New York. The Duke of York wrote the governor of New York, Edmund Andros, in 1675, declaring that several merchants were interested in sending £10,000 to the colony provided that beaver skins could be purchased.[18] This once lucrative trade for inhabitants of New York was, however, on the decline. New Jersey and Pennsylvania were participating in the trade and receiving rebukes from the governor of New York and by 1687 only 9,000 skins were exported to England.[19] Even though Edward Randolph's exaggerated report in 1689 that the Indian fur trade of Albany was worth £40,000 annually, the small number of only 15,000 pelts were exported ten years later.[20] The Hudson Bay Company was founded in 1670 and was the main source of beaver and other pelts for England. The trade only required the use of three ships at first, but by 1685, the company had five trading posts in Canada and within three years, 50,000 skins annually were being produced; and it was not only supplying England but shipping furs to Holland and Russia. The trade in 1696 was estimated as being worth £200,000 annually.[21] The beaver skins exported from New York and New Jersey weighed only 1½ pounds to 1¾ pounds each and were generally shipped as a part cargo with tobacco, sugar, and other items completing the shipload.[22]

The products of the whale were other items of export to England from New York and New Jersey. Whaling was an old industry of England, for this trade was practiced in the English channel prior to the Norman Conquest of 1066, and continued to be one of the professions of the English people. Ships from Bristol, in search of the whale, were

making voyages first to Greenland, and in the latter part of the sixteenth century the search had reached Newfoundland, Labrador, and the St. Lawrence area. The most important products of the whale were train oil and fins. The train oil was a much sought after commodity in England being used for oiling fine watches, precision instruments, and similar equipment. The Dutch, English, and French were whaling in Greenland in the early part of the seventeenth century, and in 1617 the English expedition returned with 1,900 tons of whale oil which was a very successful season. In 1623 the English established a whaling base on Greenland and called it Smeerenburg; however, the "oil boom" in Greenland was short-lived, for in 1643 Smeerenburg was deserted.[23]

The arrival of the colonists on the Frontier, and with the abundance of whales on the northern continental coast, the whaling industry was continued. Long Island settlers, coming from Massachusetts in 1640, began the trade in this area. The Dutch in New Amsterdam were interested in whaling, and in 1652, began encouraging the colonists to engage in this trade. The whaling industry, however, was very dangerous, as well as uncertain, and the search for these animals only lasted over a period from November to April making the profession a seasonal job. The whale was captured by men in small open thirty-foot boats risking their lives each time a whale was harpooned, and many did lose their lives in this trade. After the whale was subdued, the mammal was towed to shore, cut into large pieces, and the meat rendered into train oil. Whoever was lucky enough to find a "drift-whale" would at times make as much as another whaler in an entire season. The best prize in the whole industry was the finding of a large piece of ambergris floated upon the shore; this waxy substance was the secretion of the sperm

whale. The black ambergris sold for about £4 per ounce and the grey about £7 per ounce in England. The substance was used in perfumes, not for its essence, but for the ability to retain scents for long periods of time. The largest find on record resulted in a profit of approximately £18,000 to the lucky finder.[24]

The number of whales taken by the men of New York and New Jersey were small, for Samuel Maverick writing to Colonel Richard Nichols in 1669 reported that twelve to thirteen whales had been captured on the east end of Long Island prior to the close of the season, and that two shallops had been constructed for this trade. Maverick further stated that the governor and other merchants were building two vessels, one of 60 to 70 tons and another of 120 tons.[25] Whalers reported in 1672 that the industry in New York had been in progress for the past twenty years, but only in the last three years had there been any profit made.[26] Even though the whaling industry was progressing slowly, the difficulty in capturing the whale along with the limited period of the season resulted in the supply in England not being commensurate with the demand. Parliament endeavored to remedy this problem by inserting a clause in "An Act for the Encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland Trades, and for the Better Securing the Plantation Trade, 1672." All persons including foreigners were allowed to import all whale products into England free of customs. The act went further by offering a bounty of six shillings per ton of train oil and fifty shillings per ton on whale bone.[27] This law did not appreciably increase the number of whales taken in New York or on the coast of New Jersey because the whales were becoming more scarce and the primitive method of capturing this animal limited the

number that were captured. In August, 1686, nine tons of whale oil, which was bringing £26 to £30 per ton, were imported into England from New York.[28] Two years later the council of New York ordered a ship to remain in the area of Long Island "....for the protection of whale-oil exported from the government."[29] A number of people of New York and New Jersey participated in the whaling trade, and Long Island was the center of that industry, but the number of English ships employed annually in transporting the train oil was probably three or four small vessels.[30]

The inhabitants of New York in 1669 discovered cod fishing banks near Sandy Hook and began the fishing industry in that colony. The trade was very small in comparison to that of Massachusetts and Maine, but slowly progressed.[31]

New York and New Jersey employed a few English ships in importing masts, sugar, tobacco and lumber into England. The colonies would trade provisions, fish, lumber and horses for tobacco, sugar, and indigo from Virginia, Maryland, and the West Indies; and these commodities with an occasional load of timber and masts would be exported to England. New York and New Jersey also were raising tobacco in small quantities. In 1664 ten to fifteen vessels were trading to New York annually coming from England and New England. In 1669 nine loads of tobacco were imported into New York from Virginia, and three years prior to this date eleven ships arrived in England from New York and New England loaded with masts, tobacco, beaver and other Frontier articles. A shipload of masts were exported in 1675 to England.[32] In return for these raw materials, merchants were importing into New York in 1674 considerable quantities of manufac-

tured articles from England in the form of woolens, cottons, linens, gloves, rugs, stocking, iron ware, spices, pistols, powder, brass, and similar household necessities.[33] A correspondent wrote to England in 1668 declaring that New York was a "flourishing plantation,"[34] and Colonel Francis Lovelace wrote three years later that the harbor was fuller with shipping than ever was known since the discovery was made....."[35]

The trade of England to New York and the continental colonies began to expand soon after taking New Neatherlands, for the English merchants began supplying Virginia, Maryland, and New England with goods that the Dutch were formerly shipping to those colonies.[36] New York began furnishing the colonies with supplies and other articles. As early as 1664, Governor Edmund Andros made a report on the colony declaring that:

> Our Product is Land provisions of all sorts, as of Wheat exported yearly about Sixty thousand bushels, Pease, Beefe, Porke, and some refuse Fish, Tobacco, Beavers and peltry or furrs from the Indians, Deal and Oake, Timber planks, Pipe staves, lumber, horses, and Pitch and Tarr lately begun to be made.[37]

The primary produce of New York in 1678 was still provisions and lumber. The colony, however, was increasing in trade and the inhabitants by 1687 owned 9 or 10 three-masted vessels of 80 tons to as high as 100 tons, 2 or 3 of 40 tons to 50 tons, and about 20 sloops "....which all trade to the West Indies, England, and Holland, except few trade on river."[38]

New York was the "granary" of the colonies[39] with a considerable quantity of grain being realized from the Indian trade of Albany and transported down the river to New York town.[40] Large quantities of wheat as well as flour and biscuits were annually exported to the

West Indies and the other Frontier colonies from New York and New Jersey.[41] The average price of wheat per quarter (9 bu.) in England with the price being about the same on the Frontier in the 1680s is as indicated:

1646	49s.	2d.
1650	68s.	1d.
1655	29s.	7d.
1660	51s.	3d.
1665	43s.	10d.
1670	37s.	0d.
1675	52s.	1d.
1680	40s.	0d.
1685	41s.	5d.
1690	30s.	9d note 42

The colonies further exported to Barbados, Leeward Islands, and Jamaica: beef, pork, peas, horses and cattle. In return, New York in 1677-1678 imported 30,550 pounds of sugar and 2,290 pounds of cotton from Barbados.[43] Much of the sugar, molasses, rum, tobacco, indigo, cotton-wool, ginger, logwood, and cocoa shipped to the continental colonies was re-exported to England. Some of the sugar of the West Indies was even shipped via England to the continental colonies.[44]

The population had grown in New York from 1,500 in 1671 to approximately 26,000 in 1689; New Jersey had a population of 10,000 in 1689, which of course indicated that her trade and imports from England would not be as large as that of New York. In fact, the trade to New Jersey was much less than half of that to New York.[45] The governor of New York reported in 1686 that two or three ships traded to East Jersey and that area would not "consume one thousand pounds of goods in two years."[46] The following year Governor Dongan declared that both East and West Jersey could not consume more than £500 per year combined.[47]

Although New York and New Jersey produced the same products

as England, a healthy trade was developing between the mother country and these colonies by the close of this period. No record is available as to the statistical trade with New Jersey, but by 1700 England was importing £17,567 from New York and exporting to that colony £49,410 15s. being a total business transacted in the sum of £66,978 5s annually.[48] The trade was further expanding with this colony, for by 1714 an average of sixty-four ships were leaving England annually enroute to that "faire flower in the English Garland."[49] From the facts presented, these two colonies were employing by 1688 approximately fourteen ships per year importing and exporting goods to and from England.

B. Pennsylvania and Delaware

1. Founding

The Quakers in England between 1679 and 1683 were being persecuted more so than in the past, for the government was determined to enforce the Conventicle Act. William Penn was a devout Quaker and had traveled in Ireland, England, Scotland, and the Continent endeavoring to convert the people to the Quaker way of life; and after much persecution, he decided to petition the King for a grant of land in America. The petition received the seal on March 4, 1681. Penn received the territory reaching from New York to the east side of the Delaware River and five degrees of longtitude inland. Penn desired to call his new land, "New Wales," but the King called it Pennsylvania in honor and gratitude of Admiral Penn.[50] William Penn, his ship, and passengers arrived in Delaware Bay on October 27, 1682, and took possession of his territory. He estimated that 4,000 Dutch, Swedes, Finns, and other people were already in the territory of Pennsylvania on his arrival.[51]

Unsuccessful attempts were made by the Dutch at settling the Delaware area prior to being taken by the English. Henry Hudson under the employment of the Dutch East India Company, searching for a northeast passage to China, arrived in Delaware Bay in 1609 with his eighty ton vessel. The first attempt at establishing a permanent settlement on the Delaware River by Europeans occurred in 1621 when the Dutch constructed Fort Nassau, but was abandoned within a few years. The Swedes established a settlement in 1640 on the river, and was about to be abandoned when more settlers arrived. The Dutch took the Swedish forts of Christina and Casimir in 1655 with the Swedish governor returning home and those who remained took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch West India Company. This company had temporary trading posts on the Delaware River by 1638, but could not be considered settlements, as no form of organization or government existed; however, they continued to trade with the Indians. The Delaware area was known as New Amstel. The attempts of settlement of this area by the Dutch were unsuccessful because it was so far removed from New Amsterdam and no great interest was ever taken in the area with the exception of a small Indian trade. Sir Robert Carr took New Amstel in 1664 and only a few inhabitants of Dutch, Swedes, and Finns were in the area in 1670, and in 1672 the English introduced municipal government into the settlement of New Castle. Delaware was eventually "carved out of Pennsylvania" in 1702, but for purposes of trade and commerce, the Delaware area was unimportant in this period.[52]

2. Products and source of labor

The products of Pennsylvania and Delaware were about the same

as New York and New Jersey; wheat, peas, flour, pork, bread, butter, and tobacco. The colonists were trading with the Indians for furs and by 1677 considerable beaver skins were being obtained; the governor of New York was complaining that the people of Pennsylvania was encroaching upon the Indian trade of his colony. Penn's settlement grew more rapidly than usual, for people were already in the area upon his arrival.[53]

The source of labor supply came from the people themselves and servants, for Quakers did not believe in slavery, but demanded white labor. The first notice of slavery in Pennsylvania came with Francis D. Pastorius drawing up a memorial against the use of slaves. The Quakers' opposition of slavery did not prevent slaves from being in the colony, for people with other beliefs had slaves, but the number in this period was almost nil. The legislature in 1700 prohibited the selling of slaves to be transported out of the colony without the consent of the slave. Slavery in Delaware did not receive legal sanction until 1721.[54]

3. Trade and shipping

The trade of Pennsylvania was very small by 1688, but she was already trading with the West Indies and ships from England were importing manufactured products into the colony. Prior to Penn leaving England, he was offered £6,000 for the monopoly of the trade to his colony, but refused. Instead, Penn formed the Free Society of Traders, generally called the Pennsylvania Company, which was a joint-stock company with 200 members residing in England, Wales, and Ireland. The members subscribed £10,000 and had hopes of populating the area with servants, building houses, and having a profitable trade.

These dreams never materialized, for the company failed in all endeavors until 1723 at which time the company no longer continued to operate.[55]

Merchants immediately began trading with Pennsylvania, for three ships departed from London in 1682 with passengers and goods for the colonists, and in 1685, four more ships registered in London as proceeding to Pennsylvania.[56] Although a small trade was developing with the mother country, a much larger inter-plantation traffic was in progress. Pork, flour, peas, bread, and butter were being exported to Jamaica after 1685. Colonel Robert Quary wrote a few years later that Pennsylvania had flooded the West Indies with flour and deal boards. Provisions also were supplied to Virginia and Maryland, in the form of flour, peas, and similar products.[57] The production of tobacco was expanding, for one-tenth of the produce of that colony in 1697 consisted of this article and the amount was expected to increase.[58] Toward the close of the century the colony had made much progress; Governor Fletcher of New York in June 1696 reported that "....The town of Philadelphia in fourteen years' time is become nearly equal to the city of New York in trade and riches....."[59] The trade with England by 1700 had increased to more than £23,000 annually.[60] Charles D'avenant declared that although Pennsylvania furnished the southern colonies with provisions, this colony purchased manufactured goods, clothes, furniture and other products from England; and that each person bought three times more than if the individual were in England.[61] This young inhabited territory of Pennsylvania and Delaware with a population in 1688 of approximately 12,000[62] was employing approximately 6 English ships annually, but the number greatly increased with the beginning of the eighteenth century.[63]

C. Factors Affecting Trade

1. War and Indians

War is always one of the greatest factors affecting trade and commerce and the territory under discussion changed owners during the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1664, which caused the people in the colonies to suffer as well as disrupt trade. Colonel R. Nichols writing from New York in 1665 declared that no goods or other commodities had arrived from England since the Dutch had surrendered a year past, and that the planters as well as the soldiers were in great need of supplies.[64] Within a few years the Third Dutch War resulted in the recapturing of New York causing a complete stoppage of trade to the New York area for almost a year. Merchants navigating their ships across the Atlantic which were frequently captured by the enemy were further factors in reducing shipping to the colonies. Ordnance and stores were sent to New York between April 12,1666 and June 25,1674 to the amount of £2,158 14s.8d., which was only one of the many colonies receiving assistance. The trade of both the mother country and the Frontier were temporarily halted in addition to the great cost to England in money, supplies, and materials.[65]

The Indian War of 1675-1676 was damaging not only to New York, but to the other settlements along the Frontier. The Indians did not necessarily wait until a full scale war between the whites and the tribes before stealing, plundering of the villages, and murdering of the inhabitants. One or more Indians frequently ambushed an individual or a small group of persons, stole their belongings, and not infrequently removed the scalp of the victims. In 1687 and 1688

the Indians being supplied by the French were molesting the settlements as far south as Virginia, and especially, disrupting the fur trade of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.[66]

2. The Revolution of 1688

The colonists were not only confronted with the Indian raids and wars, but in 1688 came the Revolution in England causing sectionalism and disharmony in the colonists, with Governor Edmund Andros of New York being imprisoned. As this study closes, seven more years of French and Indian wars faced the colonies, disregarding pirates and the enemy preying on both the shipping of the colonies and that of England. The Seven Years War was one of the most expensive in which England had ever been involved. But the riches derived from the Frontier made possible the successful waging of war by England.[67]

D. Effects of the Founding and Settlement of these Colonies on English Shipping

1. Imports and exports

New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware having similar products to that of England did not have as great or profound effect on English shipping as some of the other colonies; but these Frontier territories helped to enhance, though in a smaller magnitude, English shipping as well as her industry through the purchasing of manufactured items. Within ten years after the close of this study, New York and Pennsylvania alone had a combined trade with England of approximately £90,000 annually.[69] The colonies also were instrumental in helping to expand the overall exports

and imports of the mother country as indicated in the table:

Official Value of Exports and Imports

Year	Exports [70]	Imports
1570	£ 26,665	£ 45,356
1613	2,487,435	2,141,151
1622	2,320,436	2,619,315
1662	2,022,812	- - - - -
1688	4,310,000	7,120,000

2. Prosperity and shipping

Every phase of life in England was indicating that radical changes were being made; trade was increasing slowly until the end of the Third Dutch War, and from that time until the Revolution, a quickening of trade resulted as indicated in the table. People were wearing better clothes, eating better food, having more money to spend, and prosperity was on the "throne" disregarding the temporary retarding effects as war, plagues, and famines.[71] The committee of customs in 1678 expressed the attitude of the people of England toward the Frontier when it said:

> The Plantation Trade is one of The greatest Nurseries of The Shipping and Seamen of This Kingdome, And one, of the greatest branches of Its Trade venting yearely of the Manufactures and Commodities of The Kingdome to a very great Value.[72]

Although these colonies only employed approximately twenty English vessels annually by the close of this study, they were as much an integral part of the British Empire as the other colonies and were instrumental in England becoming the greatest maritime power of the world.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

1. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 54; "Statistics of the Population of the Province of New York, 1647-1775," Papers Relating to the City of New York (New York: n.p., n.d.), 633.

2. Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, I, No. 730; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 788.

3. Wilson Lloyd Bevan, History of Delaware, Past and Present (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1929), I, 139; Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany: Published by the direction of the State Legislature, 1853), III, 198-214. See also C.O. 5/1111, pp. 7-16.

4. Carrington, op. cit., 51.

5. Andrews, Colonial Period in American History, III, 92.

6. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 16.

7. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, p. xxv; Carrington, op. cit., 51.

8. Andrews, Colonial Period in American History, III, 140-144, 166-167, 177-178; William A. Whitehead, Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society (2d. ed., Newark: Historical Society, 1875), I, 116.

9. C.O. 5/1111, pp. 25-27; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 126.

10. George Francis Dow, Whale Ships and Whaling with an Account of the Whale Fishery in Colonial New England (Portland: Marine Research Society of Salem, 1925), 11-13; Richard Hartshornes, "A Further Account of New Jersey, 1676," (Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.), 13.

11. Brawley, op. cit., 7-9; C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 660.

12. 1685-1688, No. 489; 1697-1698, No. 978; C.O. 5/1111, No. 27.

13. Brawley, op. cit., 7-9.

14. Beer, Commercial Policy of England Toward the American Colonies, 108.

15. Gillespie, op. cit., 7-11. See also Beer, Commercial Policy of England Toward the American Colonies, 57-62.

16. C.O. 5/1113, p. 25. See also C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, No. 1691; 1685-1688, Nos. 1377, 1378, 1379, 1915.

17. C.S.P.C. 1666-1667, pp. 298, 309.

18. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 709; 1675-1676, No. 513.

19. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, Nos. 1160, 1250.

20. C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, No. 482; 1700, No. 953.

21. Gillespie, op. cit., 105-107. See also C.S.P.C. 1696-1697, No.s 250, 569; 1699, No. 494.

22. Charles Woolsey Cole, French Mercantilism, 1683-1700 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 68.

23. Charles Boardman Hawes, Whaling (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1924), 16-25. Train oil was derived from the Dutch word "traan" meaning tear or drop. "Fins" also is a Dutch word meaning whalebone.

24. Dow, op. cit., 9, 13, 14; A. Hyatt Verrill, The Real Story of the Whaler, Past and Present (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1916), 26; Hawes, op. cit., 5-6.

25. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 59. See also Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, III, 183.

26. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 875. See also Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, I, No. 942.

27. Great Britain, Statutes at Large from Twelfth Year of King Charles II to the Last Year of King James II, ed. Danby Pickering (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham, 1763), VIII, 25 car. II c 7 sec. 1.

28. E190/143/1; C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, Nos. 1589, 1591.

29. C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, No. 1484.

30. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 43, 59; 1685-1688, No. 23; 1689-1692, No. 1691; Hartshornes, op. cit., 13.

31. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, p. 20. See also C.O. 5/1111, pp. 25-27.

32. Documents Relative to Colonial New York, III, 183; C.O. 5/1111, pp. 29-31; C.S.P.C. 1666-1667, pp. 298, 309.

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34. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1731.

35. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 111, 121, 646.

36. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 809, 1874, 1875.

37. C.O. 5/1111, pp. 25-27.

38. C.O. 5/1113, pp. 25-40. See also C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 973; 1677-1680, No. 660; 1685-1688, No. 1160.

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45. C.S.P.C. 16691674, No. 566. See also Baines, op. cit., 393.

46. C.O. 5/1113, pp. 13-14.

47. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 1160.

48. Johnson, op. cit., I, 74; British Museum, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 175, f. 372, p. 1.

49. Documents Relative to Colonial New York, V, 615.

50. C.O. 5/1236 Penn. 1-21. See also MacInnes, Gateway of Empire, 128; Acts of the Privy Council, 1680-1720, II, No. 28; Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 275-283.

51. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 297, 300.

52. Bevan, op. cit., 21-31, 52-64, 80-99, 126, 136-137. See also Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 294; Carrington, op. cit., 53; C.O. 5/723 Md.

53. C.O. 142/13; C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 1160.

54. Abbot E. Smith, op. cit., 35; Brawley, op. cit., 9.

55. C.O. 142/13; Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 299-300.

56. E190/106/1; E190/128/1.

57. C.O. 142/13; D'avenant, op. cit., II, 21; C.S.P.C. 1700, No. 190.

58. C.S.P.C. 1696-1697, No. 1338.

59. Ibid., No. 25.

60. Johnson, op. cit., I, 74.

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62. Baines, op. cit., 393.

63. Documents Relative to the Colonial Period of New York, V, 615.

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65. C.O. 324/4, p. 41; Documents Relative to Colonial New York, III, 198-214.

66. C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, Nos. 1393, 1418; 1685-1688, Nos. 1421, 1422, 1424, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1435, 1479, 1480, 1567, 1637, 1638, 1687, 1877.

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68. Johnson, op. cit., I, 74,

69. Documents Relative to Colonial New York, V, 615.

70. W. Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times (Cambridge: University Press, 1907), II, Pt. II, 931.

71. Lipson, op. cit., III, 91; Pickering, op. cit., VIII, 22 Car. II. c11 sec. 1-22, 47, c 12 sec. 1-8, c17 sec. 1-14, c 26 sec. 1-9; Gillespie, op. cit., 15-16.

72. C.O. 324/4, p. 57.

CHAPTER IV

A. Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire

1. Founding

The entire northern coast of America had been explored and the possibilities of the areas were known prior to any settlements being established in the territories, later consisting of Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire. Bartholomew Gosnold had sailed along the coast in 1602 and had given Cape Cod its name; George Waymouth sailed the coasts of New Hampshire and Maine in 1605, and a year later Martin Pring was exploring the same area. Captain John Smith navigated these waters in 1614 and gave the name of the area, New England.[1]

The economic difficulties, religious persecution, and the dissatisfaction for various reasons prompted by the reports of the abundance of fish, timber, fur, game, and other new raw materials gradually prepared the "popular mind" for "emigration across the sea."[2] The Pilgrim Fathers gathering from different places in Europe arrived in Plymouth in 1620 establishing the first permanent English colony in that area. Two years later merchants of Dorchester, England, decided to establish a colony in New England as a fishing venture by having a base of operations in the vicinity of the fishing grounds, and saving time and money in taking seamen back and forth from England at the beginning and end of the seasons. Reverend John White was one of the leaders of this venture, but the project

failed in 1626, with some of the settlers returning to England while others under the leadership of Roger Conant, went down to the vicinity which is now Salem. The New England Company becoming the Massachusetts Bay Company took over the Dorchester project, and in 1628 sent John Endicott out to reinforce the Dorchester settlement at Salem, not only for fishermen, but for people who desired to worship other than in the High Church of England. Reverend Francis Higginson in 1629 with 200 more persons arrived in the settlement, with John Winthrop and a group of Calvinist Puritans coming to Massachusetts Bay Colony the following year. Small settlements as Charles Town, Ipswich, Dorchester, and similar communities began springing up along the Massachusetts Bay area with the territory rapidly growing in population.[3]

Ferdinando Gorges and Robert Mason received a charter in 1620 granting them lands between the forty and forty-eight parallels north latitude. In 1623, these two men sent out settlers by the Laconia Company to settle in the grant and establish the fishing and timber trade. Mason and Gorges divided their grants in 1634 with Mason receiving the land west of the Piscataqua River, naming the area New Hampshire after his home county in England. Ferdinando Gorges obtained the area north and east of the river becoming known as Maine. In 1678, Gorges sold the province of Maine to the agents of Boston, and the territory did not become a state until 1820 under the rules of the Missouri Compromise. In 1679 New Hampshire became a royal province apart from the soil, with Robert Mason continuing to receive quit rents but having no legal right to govern the province. Massachusetts attempted to extend her authority over New Hampshire and Maine

beginning in the 1650s and lasting until the 1670s at which time the status of both provinces was changed.[4]

2. Products and source of labor

Massachusetts was an agricultural colony for the first twelve or fourteen years of its existence, for the founders were hoping to have the economic foundation of the settlement based on "large landed estates, tilled by tenants and hired labor."[5] After this date, commerce and shipbuilding became the primary interest of Salem, Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester. Vessels were being built both for coastwise trade and ocean-going, with the latter being as much as 400 tons. The towns became centers of trade and prosperity because of the demand of shipbuilding.[6] Boston had the largest population of any town in the area and was referred to usually as New England throughout this period of study.[7] Although shipbuilding, trade, and fishing were the primary sources of income, the colonists continued to produce wheat, flour, peas, beef, pork, horses, butter, and similar commodities for home use, to supply ships, and for export. Fish, clapboards, pipestaves, lumber, and masts also were products of Massachusetts.[8] Beaver skins and other pelts were insignificant items exported to England.[9]

Woolen and linen cloth was produced in small quantities in Massachusetts for home use only; the same was true of shoes, hats and a few other manufactured products.[10] Massachusetts was producing pig iron as early as 1645, and in 1676 she had five iron works, but articles were not produced in sufficient quantities to result in legislative acts from the British Parliament until 1750.[11] Whaling was another industry of which the inhabitants of Massachusetts

earned a livelihood.[12]

The source of labor of Massachusetts consisted mostly of white hired labor along with a few indentured servants and a much smaller number of slaves. A few Negroes had been transported into Massachusetts about 1636 and John Winthrop mentions a ship arriving in 1638 returning from Barbados with tobacco, salt and some Negroes. The law making body of Massachusetts in 1641 passed an act:

> That there shall never be any bond slavery, villeinage, nor captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives, taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us, and these shall have all the liberties and christian usages which the law of God established in Israel requires.[13]

This law sanctioned the enslavement of the Indian, the Negro, and provided for the receiving of the indentured servant. In October, 1676, only a few servants and fewer slaves were in the colony at that time.[14] Plymouth, in 1680 had several slaves and a number of Indian women and boys taken in the Indian War of 1675 and 1676, and in all of Massachusetts only five or six slaves were estimated to be born annually.[15] Approximately 200 slaves were imported into Massachusetts between 1698 and 1707, and by 1708 only 550 Negroes were in the colony with 200 of that number being shipped in from Jamaica, Barbados, and the Leeward Islands after 1698, and the remainder had been born in the settlements.[16] Indentured servants exceeding 10,000 were exported from the city of Bristol to various colonies on the Frontier between 1654 and 1686, and of that number, approximately 162 came to all of New England. This meant that the overwhelming majority of labor in Massachusetts during this period of study was white hired labor.[17]

The staple commodity of Maine was always fish, and the first men on her coast were fishermen. In New Hampshire, fish was the staple product for approximately the first ten years, after which time lumber became the primary industry, with the fishing trade being of little importance throughout the remainer of the century.[18] The secondary products of New Hampshire consisted of wheat, corn, cattle, and fish; while Maine abounded in fish, oysters, crabs, and lobsters.[19]

The source of labor for New Hampshire consisted of servants, and white free peoples. No slaves seemed to have been in the area in this period, for only twenty Negroes were imported into New Hampshire between 1698 and 1707 with the entire slave population consisting of about seventy Negroes in the following year. Slavery was not recognized in this area until 1714 at which time a law was passed regulating the slave and his movements. Possibly a few indentured servants were in the territory of Maine.[20] Although a shortage of labor existed on the Frontier, each colony had valuable resources; and the demand created for these products resulted in the commodities being placed in the stream of trade to the betterment and growth of the colony and the expansion of the English trade, commerce, and industry.

3. Trade and shipping

Whaling was one of the first trades of Massachusetts, for when the "Mayflower" anchored in Cape Cod in December, 1620, several whales were sighted and came near the vessel; and almost immediately after landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, the whaling industry was launched. The Cape Cod Peninsula was settled because of the

abundance of these priceless mammals in that area. By 1639, whaling was one of the main sources of income of Massachusetts,[21] and records indicate that train oil was imported into Bristol in 1638 from this colony. New Bedford, being founded by Joseph Russel and others in 1652, subsequently became the center of the whaling industry of New England.[22] Edward Randolph stated in 1676 that considerable train oil was being made in Plymouth; he again reported in 1688 that much profit was being made by the colonists of that settlement through the killing of whales since "bever and peltry fayles us."[23] The whale was "king" to several of the towns of Massachusetts and continued to be so, well into the eighteenth century. The train oil was a valuable product on the English market, but the whale was difficult to capture resulting in a scarcity of the oil. Not until after the close of this study were ships fitted-out to go to sea and take the whale in the open ocean.[24] The product of the whale was in such a demand that the English government was paying a bounty even to foreigners for importing train oil and whalebone into England.[26] Dutch merchants in 1689 imported 105 tons of whale oil into England, and that country had a monopoly of the whaling industry after 1625, importing most of the whale products into England. The colonists exported 296 barrels of oil to England in 1690 and 748 barrels to Amsterdam in the same year.[27]

The whaling industry was a well established business in New England before the close of the seventeenth century, and whale products constituted a part of the exports regularly shipped by New England merchants.[28] The port names of New Bedford, Nantucket, Sag Harbor, and similar whaling towns in the beginning of the eighteenth

century were better known in some parts of Europe than New York, Boston, or Washington.[29]

Approximately ten ships per year by 1688 were taking partial loads of whale oil and whalebone to England, and about twenty other ships were taking partial cargoes of this commodity to the West Indies, continental colonies, and Newfoundland.[30]

Fish was the first large export of New England, and responsible for the beginning of the trade and commerce of that area. Many of the old world powers also owe their origin of trade and commerce to the fishing industry, and Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine were no exception.[31] The Massachusetts colony was primarily agricultural, until the Civil War in England reduced immigration and trade, forcing the colonists to shift their interests from that of growing corn and raising cattle to fishing and producing lumber along with developing their trade with the West Indies.[32] The fishing industry was the chief source of wealth and the most important phase of trade and commerce of Massachusetts and Maine during the last half of the seventeenth century. Frequently, fish was the only food available to the first colonists, and, in some instances, kept the people from starving as well as preventing the colony from being lost or dissolved. The prosperity of not only Massachusetts, but of all New England was based on her fisheries.[33]

> Forests, farms, and sea [of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine] yielded lumber, beef, and fish. But England was supplied with these from the Baltic, and by her own farmers and fishermen, [and those of Ireland and Newfoundland][34]

The colonies, however, found an outlet for their resources in the West India Islands, which were requiring ever-increasing quantities of fish, food, lumber, and other essentials of life.

The West India Islands were interested in the one crop — sugar, and did not want to spend valuable time, labor, and ground to raise food. Fish was the basic food of the slave in the West Indies and as the number of slaves continued to increase, a greater demand for fish and food resulted.[35] These colonies had a "virtual monopoly" of the fish and lumber trade to the West Indies and furnished the islands with the majority of their meat and corn.[36]

New England was destined to trade, commerce, and shipbuilding because of her geographical location, and produced the same commodities as the mother country. The fact that there was no demand for these Frontier products in England, brought about the development of the large export trade to the West Indies. This trade became more important to Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire by 1640 than that of the other continental colonies. The West Indian trade was the major factor in making possible the development and expansion of the trade to Spain, Portugal, and the other European countries. Fish and lumber were the most important exports to the West Indies, and in 1640, eleven ships laden with lumber sailed from these colonies to the Caribbean possessions.[37]

Bartholomew Gosnold made a direct crossing of the Atlantic to New England in 1602 discovering the great abundance of fish in the area and gave the name of Cape Cod because of the numerous quantity of that type of fish in those waters. Gosnold, returning to England, declared that the fish were more plentiful on the coast of New England than in Newfoundland. Bristol merchants became interested in the report and in 1603 dispatched two vessels to fish on the New England coast, and Gosnold's report was confirmed. The

fish on the Maine coast were found in only about six to seven fathoms of water; whereas, in Newfoundland the fishing was done in forty to fifty fathoms.[38] Sir John and George Popham, Sir Ferdinando Georges, and other influential merchants became so interested in the fishing possibilities of these waters, that a settlement was established on the New England coast in 1607; however, for various reasons, the project was abandoned in the following year with the inhabitants returning to England. Captain John Smith's report on New England was published in London in 1616 which stated that 47,000 fish had been taken off of the Maine coast in the Monehegan Island area, although they had originally gone there to catch whales. He further reported that the fishing of New England was going to mean greater wealth to England than the gold and silver mines in possession of Spain.[39] Eight sail from London and Plymouth were fishing here in that year; the number had increased to twenty-six vessels by 1620 and by 1624, as many as forty or fifty English vessels were fishing in the New England waters annually. The fish were so plentiful on the coast of Maine that the money per fisherman on a seasons catch was approximately £14, while that of Newfoundland was only £6 to £7 per man. An estimated 300,000 fish were taken in these colonies by 1641 and exported to the continental colonies and the West Indies.[40] English merchants were continuing to fish in these waters for, Robert Trelawny, merchant of Plymouth, was sending four ships annually to fish on the Maine coast until his death in 1644.[41]

The industry was increasing so rapidly that legislation was passed in Massachusetts in 1652 requiring "fish viewers" for in-

specting and rejecting all "unmerchantable" sun-burnt and salt-burnt fish.[42] Fish, being the staple food product of the expanding populations of both the West Indies and Europe, produced a greater demand for that commodity and resulted in the prosperity of these colonies. Salem, Ipswich, and Charlestown were the centers of trade for the cod and mackerel, which were plentiful on both the coast of Maine and Massachusetts.[43] The settlers of New Hampshire did engage in the fishing industry, but not nearly to the same extent as the inhabitants of Maine and Massachusetts. Lumber products were the main source of livelihood of the people in New Hampshire during this period of study.[44] Some of the official seals of the colonies depicted their major industry and source of existance. The colony of Maine in 1661 adopted an official seal consisting of an anchor and codfish, while that of New Hampshire consisted of a fish and a tree, between which was a package of five arrows, the latter representing the five counties and the fish and tree representing the trades of the colony.[45]

The fishing trade of these colonies was thriving in 1664, and 1667, for Boston had a reported population of 14,300 people with 300 vessels engaged in a profitable trade in fish and provisions to Barbados, other possessions and Europe. The fishermen in these years, numbering 1,500, with a large fleet of fishing boats were on the Isle of Shoals, off the coast of New Hampshire, and Monehegan Island, off the coast of Maine. A boat crew consisted of four men: the master and two men fishing, and the third man on shore doing the curing.[46] Monehegan Island was known as the "Cradle of New England" because of its profitable fishing grounds.[47] The fishing industry of this island

increased constantly between 1626 and 1688, and brought wealth to the New England inhabitants fishing those waters. The commissioners of the King visiting the several colonies in 1665 reported Massachusetts as the richest colony which had,

> ....engrossed the whole trade of New England.....The commodities were fish, sent to France, Spain, and the Straits, pipe-staves, masts, fir-boards, pitch, tar, pork, beef, horses, and corn, which they send to Virginia, Barbados, &c., and take tobacco and sugar for payment, which they send to England.[48]

The colonies not only had a lucrative trade supplying the West Indies with provisions, but the armed forces of England stationed in that area increased the traffic. Provisions to the amount of £7,117 9s. 4d. were purchased from May, 1655 to December, 1656 for the army of 3,000 men in addition to the fleet stationed at Jamaica.[49] A greater amount of provisions were being supplied to the West Indies in 1666 and 1667, for no ships were coming from England because of the war. William Willoughby in the latter year reported that the West Indies could not "prosper in time of peace or subsist in time of war without trading with New England."[50]

A Captain Wyborne, commander of H.M.S. "Garland," reported in 1673 that the trade of New England was very great, with traffic to all possessions on the Frontier and to most parts of Europe. He further declared that New England had become the mart of American and European goods for supplying both the Frontier colonies and European countries.[51] The colonies were thriving with activity in 1675 with Boston and Salem being the main centers of trade of the area. Maine and New Hampshire transported much of their products to Boston to be re-exported. In this year an estimated 1,200,000 pounds of fish were being caught in New England bearing minimum receipts of £50,000

annually for the New England traders.[52] The greatest portion of the fish was exported to the West Indies and the Catholic countries of Europe, with Spain importing the largest quantity. Fish from these colonies were being transported to France and Spain as early as 1622 with the demand increasing throughout this period.[53] New England was consuming approximately 2,000,000 pounds of salt annually by 1686 with the majority of this product coming from Tortudas, an island near Barbados.[54] Between May 18, and September 21 of this year, 1,120,000 of fish were exported to Bilboa, Spain from Boston.[55] Estimates were made in 1700 that 5,000,000 pounds and another of 10,000,000 pounds of fish were exported from Boston annually.[56] The merchants were exporting 23,000,000 pounds of fish annually by 1731.[57] Before being exported, the fish were graded; (1) merchantable, (2) middling, and (3) refuse. The best fish were usually exported to Spain and Calais; the middlings to Lisbon and other parts of Europe, while most of the refuse fish were transported to the West Indies for consumption by the slaves.[58] Much of the wealth of the inhabitants came from this trade, and the fishing industry was the "cornerstone of New England prosperity" for more than 150 years.[59]

The ships exporting the fish, lumber, masts, and provisions into the West Indies and the other possessions returned with the commodities of those areas as sugar, tobacco, rum, pimento, indigo, and logwood along with some English products to Boston, and New England.[60] Approximately 150 to 165 vessels were trading from New England to the possessions of the West Indies by 1688 with the majority ranging from ten tons to forty tons in weight.[61] Sugar was

the most valuable article returned from the Caribbean possessions. Over 655,000 pounds of that commodity alone was imported into New England in the one year of 1677 to 1678 from the three islands of Barbados, Nevis, and St. Christopher with the majority coming from Barbados.[62] A typical cargo in a vessel of forty-five tons from Boston and unloading in Jamaica on April 19, 1685 contained:

50 hogsheads of codfish
70 barrels mackerel
10 barrels pork
10 casks of oil
4000 hoops
6000 staves.[63]

The colonies had developed a very profitable trade to the West Indies, but without the shipbuilding industry, and her own ships, her fisheries would have supplied little wealth for the inhabitants. The majority of the vessels were constructed in the colony of Massachusetts, with a few ships being built in New Hampshire and Maine.[64] The first vessel constructed in this area was the "Virginia" built in 1607, in Maine, and the vessel sailed for England in the following year when the colony was abandoned.[65] The "Blessing of the Bay" being constructed in 1631, was the first vessel launched in Massachusetts.[66] In 1636, a vessel of 120 tons was built at Marblehead, Massachusetts, while one of 300 tons was completed at Salem in 1640, and another in 1642 of the same weight. The shipwrights of Plymouth launched their first vessel in 1641 of between forty tons and fifty tons.[67] Shipbuilding was of such importance and magnitude by this year, that inspectors were appointed to insure good workmanship and that the proper materials were used in the construction of the vessels. Ships of greater capacity were being constructed in Massachusetts, for in 1648 the "Seafort," of 400 tons, was launched

in Boston, but was lost on the coast of Spain due to faulty navigation. Shipbuilding by 1660 was the leading industry in Salem, Boston, Ipswich, Newbury, Dorchester, and Gloucester; and by 1675 fifty master shipbuilders were in New England.[68]

The Maine and New Hampshire fishermen began to build and procure vessels to transport their fish to the southern colonies and to the West Indies as soon as the trade indicated the demand for this commodity. An English shipwright had a yard at Kittery Point, Maine in the 1660s, and a few vessels were being constructed at Portsmouth on the Piscataqua River. Only a small number of ships were ever constructed in these two colonies prior to 1688, for in 1693, only two vessels of fifty tons each were listed as belonging to the port of Kittery Point, while seven years later New Hampshire had twenty-four vessels.[69]

The chief production of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine was fish, shipbuilding, and lumber. All three colonies had good trees for lumber and masts, with New Hampshire having the best quality and greatest quantity of trees for the latter product. Small quantities of tar and hemp were being produced in Plymouth and the other settlements, but the majority of the sail-cloth and cordage for shipbuilding was imported from England.[70] The majority of the vessels operating in and out of Salem, Boston, Ipswich, Gloucester, Newbury, and the vicinity ports in the 1650s and 1660s trading to the other possessions and Europe ranged from ten tons to forty tons with the majority of them being constructed in Massachusetts.[71] Salem, in 1670 was prominent in the West Indies trade with much of the traffic being transported in vessels constructed in her

port, and trade of the colonies had advanced to heights greater than any time in the past.[72]

The population of Boston had grown by 1671 to an approximate 30,000, New Hampshire 1,800, Maine 1,200, and the numbers were increasing yearly.[73] The "chief professions" in this area were that of merchants, "who were principally seated at Boston, Salem, Charles Towne, and Portsmouth....; the farmers also were "numerous and wealthy" from the produce of corn, cattle, poultry, butter and cheese.[74] However, where there is wealth and prosperity, trade and traffic are essential. Through the shipbuilding program, the facilities were made available for this commerce, for in 1675 New England had 12 ships of 100 tons to 220 tons, 190 of 20 tons to 100 tons, and 440 fishing boats of about 6 tons each.[75] The number of wealthy men was increasing; 30 persons had assets of £10,000 to £20,000, while 500 individuals were in the £3,000 bracket. The homes in Boston throughout the period were growing larger and better with furniture and appearance equal to the homes of the elite in England.[76] Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine contained more than three-fourths of the wealth of New England in 1675 with Rhode Island and Connecticut owning less than one-fourth of the assets of the area,[77] The following year, Boston alone was reported as having 30 vessels of 50 tons to 100 tons and 500 smaller craft; and by the close of the century she had 194 sea-going ships with 70 vessels of all types in the other settlements.[78] The report on the shipping of New England in 1676 as having been built and owned by the inhabitants consisted of:

30 ships of 100-250 tuns
200 ------- 50-100 ---
200 ------- 30-50 ---
300 ------- 6-10 ---[79]

The key industry especially in Massachusetts was definitely fishing and shipbuilding,[80] and by 1721 Massachusetts alone was launching 140 to 160 vessels annually.[81]

The profit and wealth of the trade and commerce to the West Indies and other parts by the New England merchants was so apparent that English merchants owned ships that traded solely between New England and the West Indies. Approximately eleven ships English built and English owned vessels entered Boston in 1688 from the West Indies. Thirteen English owned ships cleared Boston in 1688 for Bilboa, Portugal, and France with New England fish.[82] The English merchants were not only participating in the trade on the Frontier, but orders were being placed with the shipbuilders of Boston and vicinity to construct ships for them.[83] The passing of the navigation acts endeavoring to confine shipping to English-built ships, also placed restrictions on timber and naval stores forcing the cost of shipbuilding to increase in England to almost double what it had been prior to the Navigation Act of 1651. The act nine years later continued to keep the construction material expensive. The building supplies were imported into England from Scandinavia in Scandinavian ships at an increased cost.[84] The value of shipbuilding materials in England in 1669 was eight times that of labor; whereas in Holland, the cost of building a ship was only one-third to one-half of the expense in England. A ship costing only £800 to build in Holland in 1669 was costing approximately £1,300 in England.[85] This great expense in building ships in the home country forced many of the English merchants to seek ships from other sources than in England. The ships could be constructed on the Frontier for about

£4 per ton and the merchant would not only gain from having the ship constructed on the Frontier, as compared to building in England, but the ship could obtain a cargo in these colonies from which a profit would be realized.[86] The English merchants in the one year of 1676 placed an order with the New England shipbuilders for thirty ships.[87]

Although shipbuilding was more expensive in England than on the Frontier or in Holland, the industry was booming in 1676 in the building of craft of 120 tons and less. Secretary Williamson writing in this year declared that "....within the last three years more small craft of between 60 and 120 tons have been built, than were 20 years and above before."[88] The English also were supplying the New England colonies with ships, for by 1687 the customs records indicate a considerable number of English built ships owned by Massachusetts merchants clearing Boston for the West Indies and the continental colonies. She also built a few ships for the other continental possessions.[89] The New England colonies, although not conforming to the commercial policy of England by both producing the same commodities and competing with her in shipbuilding--therefore, being considered as extremely prejudicial to her industry[90]-- were importing sizeable sums of English goods and employing several ships annually in distributing the manufactured commodities to the other possessions.[91]

England was not producing many commodities for export by 1650 and so was not looking so much upon the colonies as a vent for her exports, but more so as a source of raw materials.[92] However, in the 1660s and thereafter, the "wheels" of industry began to "grind" and her exports greatly increased by 1688 to an amount never pre-

viously obtained.[93] In 1663 a typical cargo from England to the colonies consisted of cordage, sail cloth, earthenware, shoes, silks, woolens, and many other necessities of life for the Frontier,[94] and the consistent growth in the population of these colonies constituted an ever increasing market for her manufactured products.[95] England, in 1677, had a large fleet of ships; more silver utensils used for food and drink than ever before, her trade was with all parts of the globe; traders had increased by six fold; and the shops were better furnished with varied articles than any time in the past; houses more elaborate, better constructed and more beautifully supplied with costly furniture; precious stones more common than ever; and she was controlling most of the trade of the world; England was a "magazine" of commodities for Europe, and had gained fame, all of which resulted in the fact that "....we have more wealth now, than ever we had at any time before the Restoration of his Sacred Majestie."[96] The increase in production, the quickening of trade, and advancing of the wealth of England necessitated an increase in her shipping, and New England was instrumental in the expansion of her ship traffic.[97]

The English ships were ploughing the seas to New England in ever increasing numbers after 1650, and importing sugar, tobacco, indigo, logwood, and similar commodities, which these colonies had obtained from the other Frontier possessions.[98] The colonies were expected to purchase more from England than they sold to them, but there was little money available to do so other than exchange of products.[99] Consequently, Boston began coining silver money in 1652; but a large amount of the currency of these colonies came through their trade to Spain, Portugal, France, and other European

countries.[100] Governor William Phips of Massachusetts, in 1691 reported that little money other than that of Spanish could be found in New England, and requested permission to begin coining money in that colony.[101] The coined money along with that obtained from the European countries was used in purchasing silks, ribbons, stockings, wool cloth, serges, calicoes, shoes, buttons, and many other articles imported in English ships.[102] Between May, 1686, and September, 1688, the custom records indicate that the following ships traded annually to the places designated: approximately twenty-two English owned and English built ships were trading to Boston; six English built ships owned by merchants of Boston were trading to England; four plantation built ships owned by merchants of Boston also were trading to England; six English built ships of England were trading from the West Indies to Boston. These English and colonial ships coming direct from England to New England were importing manufactured goods and other articles of the mother country; also the English ships and colonial vessels trading between New England and the West Indies not infrequently returned English products from that area to Boston.[103] The commercial activities of New England were rapidly advancing, and especially in the latter 1680s, for Edmund Andros, Governor of New England, granted licenses to 441 vessels between December, 1686 and April 1689, departing from that area enroute to England, Frontier colonies, and Europe; and the majority of the vessels were of from 10 tons to 40 tons with few of 100 tons and 150 tons.[104]

English shipping also was participating in the New England fishing trade. Although England was obtaining the majority of her fish

from Newfoundland, Ireland, and on her own coast, she continued to obtain this product from New England. Her fishing boats were on the New England coasts beginning in 1602 and were there in increasing numbers in the 1620s, and the merchants of England continued to send their fishing vessels to these coasts in the 1630s and 1640s.[105] Ships of 150 and 200 tons were arriving in England in 1666 and 1667 from Boston with fish.[106] Other entries indicate fish from these colonies being imported in 1686 and 1688 into England.[107] The English were not only importing New England fish into England, but were sending their ships to this coast, loading fish and importing them into Spain and other European countries. The English ship, "Elizabeth," of 56 tons cleared Boston in July, 1688 with 140,000 pounds of fish for Bilboa, Spain; the "New Sarah," and "Eliza," also English owned, departed at the same time for the same destination with 150,000 pounds. In fact, thirteen English owned and English built ships cleared from Boston between March 25, 1688 and September 29, 1688 loaded with fish enroute to Bilboa, Spain, Portugal, and France.[108]

Ships were not only coming from England direct to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine to obtain fish and other Frontier products, but the English fishing ships were coming from Newfoundland to purchase New England fish. Secretary Williamson of the "colonial office," reported in 1675 that "New England fishery is at Piscataqua, where we send to buy their fish. 60 ships at least come from New England and Barbados yearly....to Newfoundland."[109] Five years later, approximately 100 ships were trading from New England to Newfoundland,[110] taking sugar, tobacco, rum, molasses, oil, peltry, lumber, fish, and provisions; and returning with cordage,

linen, woolens, and other manufactured products.[111] In effect, this was the same as English ships trading direct to these colonies, for the commodities of England were being conveyed to New England from a central point. However, as the vessels of these colonies were small, and as some of them probably did not return with English goods, a conservative number of English ships commensurate to the 100 colony vessels would be about 10 English ships. Although a portion of the goods obtained from the other possessions were shipped by these colonies to Newfoundland, much of the sugar, tobacco, logwood, cocoa, indigo, and ginger were shipped directly to England in English vessels with a smaller number of New England owned ships taking cargoes to England.[112] The commission on trade reporting to the King in 1696 in reference to the colonial trade declared that,

> ....the more Southern Colonies are much more beneficial to England than the Northern, yet being all contribute to taking off great quantities of our Woollen goods, other Products, and Handicraft Wares, and to maintain and increase Our Navigation, and,....we humbly conceive the Trade to and from these Colonies deserves the greatest Incouragement.....[113]

The New England colonies as stated were not as beneficial to England as the southern colonies, but approximately thirty-nine English and Massachusetts ships were employed in bringing commodities to Boston by 1688, for England exported ten times as much to the New England colonies as she imported from these possessions.[114] D'avenant wrote that "Our plantations (if we take care to preserve them from foreign insults and invasions) as they increase in people, will consume more of our home manufactures than we have hands to make....."[115] In 1690 England was exporting one-third more manu-

factured products than in 1670, and where there is an increase in the exportation of finished products, a greater demand for raw materials is necessitated, and this requires an expansion of shipping.[116]

Masts and other timber products of Massachusetts, Maine, and especially New Hampshire employed a number of English ships. The oak was fast disappearing in the seventeenth century and the keepers of England were constrained to look "beyond the seas for timber." The British Admiralty was constantly concerned over the supply of lumber, and especially masts for the ships, from the time of Cromwell until the iron replaced the wooden vessels. However, the timber problem for England did not become prominent until the First Dutch War in 1652, for prior to that time the sea battles were fought with private ships "gathered for the occasion." Private ships, however, were hired during the Dutch wars, but the majority of the ships were regular Navy vessels. This shortage of shipbuilding supplies forced England to depend upon the Baltic as her source.[117] The Baltic policy of England became "chiefly a matter of keeping the sea open at all costs, in order to ensure a supply of naval materials." England, on few occasions forced her way into the Sound to keep the timber supply lane open.[118] In April, 1645, she made a treaty with Denmark declaring that England would be treated equally in respect to trade with all other nations westward of the Sound.[119] Another such treaty was consummated in 1654 between England and Denmark opening the Sound to all traffic.[120] One of the main features of the foreign policy not only of England, but France, Spain, and Holland was the supply of naval stores. The Civil War and the Cromwellian period

gave the coup de grace to the mast and timber of England.[121]

The report of the abundant supply of masts and timber in the New England colonies focused the attention of England on that area, especially in the First Dutch War. The first load of masts from the Frontier was shipped from Virginia in 1609, with a load of timber coming from Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1623. The first sawmill erected on the Frontier was in the latter year and at York, Maine. Thereafter, as each new "hamlet" was established, a sawmill was always erected, and by 1682, twenty-four sawmills were supplying lumber for export, for New Hampshire and Maine relied on lumbering and fishing for their livelihood.[122] A cargo of masts was first imported from Maine in 1634, and the English Navy began importing masts and naval stores from this area in 1653, during the First Dutch War, and continued to do so for a "century and a quarter."[123] The masts and timber imported from the Frontier, in the First Dutch War was only a trickle in comparison to the need of the Navy.

> The English timber shortage made itself felt in the First Dutch War, it was more acute in the second, and in the third, it was actually dangerous.[124]

England had sixty-eight royal forests in 1660, but only three were being utilized for lumber, with a small amount being cut from the other royal holdings. Timber was procured occasionally from private holdings, but not in sufficient quantities to fulfill the need.[125] During the Second Dutch War, four masts ships arrived from New England in 1666 just after the "Four Days Battle" in the English Channel in which the British vessels were badly damaged and needed masts. A short time later eleven more ships arrived from New England with the majority being laden with masts.[126] After the end

of the Second Dutch War in 1667, the masts and timber further decreased for lack of credit, and many ships being constructed were only partially completed and had to be delayed another year because of insufficient materials. The Navy seldom had a reserve supply of shipbuilding materials available during this period of study,[127] and the overwhelming majority of masts and naval stores were secured from the Baltic.[128] The scarcity of shipbuilding supplies of the Navy in this period was the lack of funds and bad credit.[129]

The Navy board was "prejudiced" and "hindered every attempt of the persistent colonists to introduce their oak into the dockyards" of England.[130] Many representatives of the English government on the Frontier wrote of the great quantity of mast timber and the possibilities of the production of tar, turpentine, and other naval stores. John Taylor as early as 1665 had sent specimens of timber from New England to the Navy officials. Also in this year, a contemporary wrote that seven or eight ships were in the harbor of the Piscataqua River with a great store of masts.[131] Approximately ten shiploads of masts per year were being imported into England from New Hampshire by 1671, with the Navy using two or three of the ten cargoes.[132] Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at the mouth of the Piscataqua River, was the great cutting ground for timber in New England and supplied most of the masts for the English Navy during this period of study. Masts in considerable numbers also were exported from Maine with smaller quantities from Massachusetts.[133] However, the Navy continued to procure its source of shipbuilding supplies from the Baltic, and to use Dutch ships for the importation of these commodities. The merchants throughout this period per-

sisted in obtaining Dutch and other foreign-built ships because of the much greater expense of constructing ships in England. The Dutch could purchase naval stores from the Baltic cheaper than England, for merchants of Holland had better credit, lower tariffs, purchased larger quantities, cheaper labor, and had better diplomatic relations with that area.[134]

England continued to have oak planks for decks of ships and other uses after her timber large enough for masts had perished. The Navy first turned to the Baltic for large supplies of planking lumber in 1677 when endeavoring to build thirty ships of the line. The Navy board held a conference in 1686 on the question of the introduction of Baltic plank into the Navy as a regular policy. The policy was adopted and,

> That meeting in Whitehall is a landmark in the history of England's timber problem. For the first time, the Navy officially recognized its dependence on foreign lands for timber in addition to masts. From that time on, nearly every English warship had part of its planking below the waterline from the Baltic.[135]

George Cartwright, in 1665, endeavoring to get the Navy and merchants of England to purchase masts and lumber from New England declared that the area afforded "excellent" masts and some were being taken from New Hampshire on the Piscataqua River; that the harbor was large; dry docks could easily be built; that the colony had twenty-seven sawmills; and a "great store of pipe staves were being made, and a great store of good timber spoyled."[136] The produce of New England in 1676 was spoken of as,

> All things necessary for shipping and Naval furniture in great abundance, as excellent Oak, Elme, Beech, Fir, Pines for Masts the best in the world, pitch Tarr, good hemp and Iron....Clapboard, pipestaves, planks and

deal boards, Soe that His Majesty need not bee beholding to other Nations for supply of Naval stores.[137]

However, the report was made concerning Massachusetts in 1630 that hemp and flax grew well but labor was so dear that it could not be made a commodity for export, and that their rigging came from England. Another report in 1631 declared that only enough tar was made in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine to supply the West Indies and neighboring colonies.[138] Edward Randolph was appointed officially in 1685 to make a report on the timber and masts of Maine; he made a favorable report and spoke of the possibilities of building ships at a low expense. Many projects were proposed for developing the masts and naval stores trade between the Frontier and England, but the attempts never materialized beyond a small quantity of the items being imported.[139]

The fact that England only procured a small portion of her masts from New England during this period and a small amount of lumber, which at times was shipped to the West Indies and then transported to England,[140] is based on the great distance between England and the Frontier. New England was 3,000 miles distance and the freight rate was £6 to £8 per ton, while the distance to Stettin, Danzig, Riga, and St. Petersburg was 1,000 to 1,500 with that to Norway being only 350 miles. The freight rate to Norway and the Baltic area ranged only between twenty to fifty shillings along with the great amount of time being saved in procuring the commodities from the nearby foreign countries. The labor of the Frontier also was as much as six times higher than that of Europe,[141] and in order to make a profit in the timber trade not only was there a necessity to own "cheap serviceable shipping, but to operate it as cheaply as the Danes and Dutch."[142]

England and the Frontier just could not compete with the highly organized timber trade of the Baltic.[143] John Taylor writing to John Povy in New England in 1694 summarizes the timber trade to the Frontier when he said,

> I would gladly see this Kingdom independent of Sweden and Denmark, but I must speak as a merchant who judges his trade only by the measure of profit; and then arises the difficulty how we shall bring bulky goods from a very remote part as cheaply as from countries near us. I cannot solve the difficulty because (1) The commodities are more plentiful in Sweden and Denmark than in New England. (2) Labour costs but one sixth of the price. (3) One voyage to New England costs as much as four or five to the Baltic, and the difference would be still greater if the Swede and Dane lowered their duties. True, building of ships in New England may abate the difference somewhat, but this is done in the other countries also, and much cheaper than in New England. I take the King's chief end in having Naval stores from New England was to be supplied from thence in case of necessity, with more regard to getting it than the price; and this may be done by encouraging the manufacture of pitch and tar. New Hampshire has the best facilities for transportation.....[144]

The Naval stores of New England did not begin to be developed until the accession of William and Mary, and not until in the eighteenth century did any sizeable quantity of these commodities flow into England from this area.[145] An example indicating that the masts and timber were still coming from the Baltic area was represented by the fact that 130 ships laden with masts came to London in 1695 from Norway, and in former years a much larger number of ships from this area had imported these articles into England.[146] However, the timber trade between England and New England by the close of this period was employing a minimum of twelve English ships with a few more importing New England timber into the mother country which had been exported to the West Indies and re-exported to England

from there.[147]

B . Rhode Island and Connecticut

1. Founding

Massachusetts acted as a mother colony from which other colonies and settlements were peopled. Roger Williams left that colony for various reasons, one of which was religious, and founded the colony of Rhode Island in 1636, with Providence being the first settlement. Newport, was settled in 1639 with other communities subsequently being established.[148] The colony had no settled form of government until after 1647, and although the King granted the territory a charter in 1663, the boundaries had not been settled by the close of this study.[149]

The Connecticut area also was settled by people from Massachusetts. Thomas Hooker in 1636 rebelling against the religious restrictions in Massachusetts went to the Connecticut River and established a colony granting complete religious toleration.[150] The following year, Reverend John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, Puritans of Boston, founded New Haven, and eleven years later, John Winthrop settled New London.[151] The colony received a charter in 1662 describing the boundaries, but a dispute arose with Rhode Island and the settling of the limits of each colony was delayed for many years.[152]

2. Products and source of labor

Rhode Island was an agricultural colony although the soil was not too well adapted for that livelihood. The main products of the colony were sheep, horses, cattle, grain, tobacco, wool, bread, peas, pork, and pipe staves. Shipbuilding was being done, but records are very

scarce, which is an indication that the size and number were small. A sloop was being built in Newport in 1668, and a ship of 120 tons was being constructed there in the same year. However, the majority of the vessels were either purchased or hired from the ports of Boston or New Amsterdam.[153]

The number of servants or slaves in Rhode Island are not listed in the records, but a law was passed in 1652 stating that all slaves imported into the colony were to be freed after ten years; however, this act was never observed.[154] A further report was made in 1680 that the birth rate of about 200 whites and blacks was occurring annually, but no mention is made of indentured servants.[155] The population of Rhode Island was only 1,000 to 1,200 between 1671 and 1678 with an estimated 6,000 at the close of the study, which would not be a large enough population to create much trade in that area.[156]

The colony of Connecticut also was primarily agricultural in nature producing wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, peas, pork, cattle, hemp, flax, wool, cider, pipestaves, and horses. The colony constructed a few small vessels, mostly for the coastwise trade, and did a little whaling.[157]

Connecticut had both servants and slaves, with the former being in the colony as early as 1650, as verified by the court of Connecticut promulgating an order that the servants were to work a full day allowing "time for food and rest."[158] Legislation was passed against slavery in 1652, but was never enforced.[159] Two years earlier, however, a form of slavery was recognized, for the law stated that Indians harming individuals of the colony may be made to serve the colonists or be traded into slavery. According to the report of Edward Randolph

in 1676, no slaves were in the colony, but by 1679, approximately thirty slaves and a few more servants were dispersed throughout the settlements. In 1680, three or four slaves were being imported into the colony annually and selling for approximately £22 per head; the Negroes were used, and thought of mostly as servants rather than slaves.[160] Thus, the servant and slave population of Connecticut was a very small percentage of the population of 17,000, which was the number of persons in the colony at the close of this study.[161]

3. Trade and shipping

As early as 1650 tobacco produced in Rhode Island was being exported to Boston, and by 1656, horses were transported to Massachusetts, New Amsterdam, and the West Indies. Rum, sugar and molasses were imported from Barbados and exchanged for sheep, horses, wool, bread, peas, pork, pipe staves, and other articles. In 1682, Carolina was importing horses from this colony.[162] From the wool, some clothing was being made, but for private use only.[163] The colony, although being small and not too adapted to trade, had a few vessels owned by merchants trading to Barbados in the 1660s and 1670s.[164] In 1675, the colony was spoken of as the "garden of New England" along with having the safest and largest harbor of that area with the capacity of a 100 ships.[165] The colony in 1680 was importing small quantities of produce from Barbados, but only a few merchants were in Rhode Island at that time.[166] The trade of Rhode Island during this period of study was limited to the neighboring colonies and the West Indies, with no direct shipping to England or Europe.[167]

The trade of Connecticut was in agricultural products, for most

of the people lived from the soil with the chief commodities being corn, wheat, and similar grains. Trade was carried on in these commodities by merchants of New Haven and New London who owned barks, ketches and other small craft by 1650, which were employed in coastwise trade to Long Island, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. Connecticut harbors were always dangerous because of shifting sandbars, and silt blocking the harbors, making it possible for only light craft vessels to navigate the channels. New London had the best harbor but the report was made in 1675 that the trade of that town was "not considerable."[168] The combined ports of Connecticut by 1679 had twenty-three small craft. New London merchants owned 2 ships of 170 tons and 190 tons each, and by this date the colony was exporting considerable corn (one of the largest exports items), biscuit, bread, beaver, cattle, horses, and pipestaves to Boston, New York, Long Island, Barbados, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands. With these articles, the greatest amount was exported to Boston in exchange for manufactured products, and items transported to the other colonies and the West Indies were exchanged for rum, sugar, molasses, and money.[169]

Connecticut also was producing by 1679 a small amount of hemp, pitch, tar, and a little sail cloth, but in "no great quantity;" however, by the close of the century, the output in turpentine, hemp, pitch, and tar had considerably increased. The governor of Connecticut estimated in 1679 that the colony imported approximately £8,000 to £9,000 of merchandise annually, and the area had "about 20 petty merchants" trading to the other possessions and Newfoundland; but "As for forrain merchants, few, and very seldom, trade hither."[170]

The governor continued to say that,

> It is rare any Vessells come to trade with us, but what come from Massachusetts Colony or New Yorke; but sundry of their vessels doe come and transport our provisions for our merchants to Boston.[171]

The colony had twenty-six settlements in this year, but the majority of the trade was with Massachusetts and by 1688, her trade had not expanded to the open sea.[172]

C. Factors Affecting Trade

1. War, Indians, pirates, and hurricanes

New England colonies were affected for the most part by the same forces causing the disruption of trade and production in the more southern possessions. The Civil War and the dissension in both the government of England and Barbados in 1650 resulted in a temporary embargo on all trade to that island, thereby causing a hardship on the New England merchants whose greatest trade and traffic was with that particular possession.[173] When the mother country was affected by any cataclysm, the forces also reached out to the Frontier. The accession of Charles II resulted in factions in the colonies and although all of the colonies recognized his government after some delay, only Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Haven overtly accepted his government.[174] England's involvement in the three Dutch wars was no exceptions. Great expense in manpower, arms, ammunition, along with the loss of ships, valuable cargoes, and the reduction of trade were the costs of these conflicts not only to England but to the colonies.[175]

The Dutch wars limited the trade of the colonies, but the Indian War of 1675 and 1676 were very destructive and demoralizing. In 1675

Indians murdered approximately 1,000 people in New England, burned 1,200 houses in Massachusetts, slaughtered 8,000 cattle, and destroyed many thousands of bushels of grain and other property. Many people were forced to leave their homes, cultivated land, and retire to as much as a 100 miles to more settled areas for protection against the Indians.[176] In 1676, the Indians were consistently overrunning the fishing settlements of Maine. Portland was plundered by the Red Men in 1676 and again destroyed by the French and Indians in 1689 and 1690, and remained in desolate waste until 1713. Providence, Rhode Island, was partially burned by the Indians in 1676 with Groton, Connecticut, also being destroyed by fire in the same year.[177] The Indians continued to harass the settlers from 1675 to 1686 and even greater destruction was caused by the French and Indians in these colonies between 1688-1697.[178]

Pirates, privateers, and storms were other forces interfering with shipping of these possessions. John Shorter, merchant of London, had contracted to bring a shipload of mast to England for the Navy in 1666 and while enroute, a Dutch privateer took the vessel and cargo.[179] Pirates were always operating on these coasts during this period, but in greater numbers in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. A pirate ship frequently consisted of men from several races and countries. The pirate ship "La Trompeuse," of 198 men taken in Boston in 1684 contained English, French, Scotch, Dutch, Spaniards, Portuguese, Negroes, Indians, Mullattoes, Swedes, Irish, Jersey men, and New Englanders.[180] Some of the colonies were accused of harboring pirates, and the Lords of Trade in November, 1684, ordered Rhode Island to pass laws against piracy on the model of those of

Virginia.[181] The Spanish were preying on the English and Frontier shipping taking seventy-five vessels between 1670 and 1674; many of the craft belonged to New England and were taken in the Caribbean area.[182] Along with war and pirates, the storms and hurricanes always were feared by the shipmasters, and not infrequently the ships never stayed afloat long enough to reach their destination.[183]

D. Effects of the Founding and Settlement of these Colonies on English Shipping

1. Imports from England

The Frontier colonies were to conform to the mercantile theory of England by furnishing the mother country with raw materials and purchasing large quantities of manufactured products. The commodities of New England being the same as the mother country, were not in demand in England, but the other continental colonies, the West Indies, and the Catholic countries of Europe (as Portugal, Spain, and France) were profitable markets in venting the fish, lumber, and provisions of the New England possessions. Massachusetts, especially, was the carrier for most of the other continental colonies and had a large trade to the West Indies of which was carried on mostly in her own vessels. By 1688 over 200 vessels were departing from New England annually to the other possessions, and Europe,[184] making New England, and especially Boston, a magazine and distributor of almost every necessity of life.

The products of England as woolens, serges, stockings, shoes, linens, hats, silks, ribbons, farming equipment, guns, powder, lead, tin, all types of brass and ironware, eating utensils, and many other essentials and comforts of life were demanded by the Frontier colonies.

The New England colonies by 1688 were employing considerable shipping of England in transporting these commodities across the Atlantic, and the New England ships along with English vessels, trading between New England and the West Indies, would distribute many of these items to the other possessions. The demand of the New England colonies for these goods for private use was increasing throughout this period in proportion to the increase of the population of that area.

2. Employment of shipping and increase of the merchant marine

"Countries with plentiful and varied commodities shall never be lacking in trade and prosperity,"[185] and England had a large stock, thanks to her Frontier possessions, who also were a profitable outlet for the products of her industry, resulting in her consistent growth in shipping and affluence. The vehicle that made possible England's attaining more wealth by 1688 than she had ever known was the ship, and her trade and traffic with the New England colonies was partially responsible for England rising to fame and fortune. Governor Dongan of New York reported in 1687 that New England could load "thirty or forty" ships per year.[186] The table below is the approximate number of English ships employed annually in the trade to New England by 1688 and the number of New England ships trading to England:

1. English ships English built trading between England and New England---------- 22
2. English ships English built trading to Boston from the West Indies---------- 6
3. English ships English built trading from Boston to Bilboa, Spain, Portugal, and France---------- 13

4. Masts ships trading to New Hampshire---------- 13

5. English ships employed indirectly by New England ships importing English goods that had been imported into the West Indies---------- 2

6. English ships employed indirectly by New England ships importing English goods that had been imported into Newfoundland by English ships (estimate)---------- 10

7. English ships taking fish from Maine---------- 3

Total English ships employed by New England------ 69

8. English built ships owned by merchants of Boston trading to England---------- 6

9. Plantation built ships trading from Boston to England----- 4

Total---------- 79 note187

Further indications in the tremendous growth of English shipping is projected by the statistics of 1714 whereby 240 ships were annually departing from England enroute to the New England colonies.[188]

The tonnage is another statistic relating the growth of the merchant marine. In 1615, only 11,000 seamen were in the merchant marine of England, while in 1687, the number had reached 40,000.[189] The tonnage had increased proportionally to the seamen as well as to the wealth of the country. In 1682, the tonnage was 68,433, and in 1660, it had reached 161,619 tons,[190] but the number of merchants and shipping of England doubled between 1660 and 1688, resulting in England having the greatest merchant marine in the world.[191]

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

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14. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 1067.

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PART II

THE WEST INDIES TRADE 1650-1688

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST IMPORTANT SUGAR ISLAND

A. Barbados

1. Founding

Barbados lies at the southeast end of the American Archipelago between thirteen and fourteen degrees north latitude consisting of an area of 166 square miles, 106,240 acres, has no rivers but many pools and springs, and is approximately 3,430 miles from England.[1] The island was first visited by Pedros a Campos in 1536, and not finding the island inhabited, he released hogs to breed for future seafaring nomads. The Portuguese called the island Los Barbados, meaning the bearded island because of the abundance of Indian fig trees.[2]

The first Englishman to discover Barbados was Sir Oliph Leigh, who was enroute in 1605 with a vessel load of colonists to settle in Guiana. Finding himself off course, he anchored off the island to replenish his food and water supply, and as there were no inhabitants, he claimed it as a possession for England.[3] Twenty years later, William Courteen, a wealthy English merchant, heard a report by the Dutch as to the great advantage of the island; and dispatched two ships under the command of John Powell, who arrived in Barbados in February, 1626.[4] The first expedition was not successful, and a second colonizing party under Captain Powell reached the island in 1627 with eighty settlers.[5] Courteen, within the first two years, peopled the

island with 1,850 men, women and children.[6]

James Lord Hay, Earl of Carlisle, on July 2, 1627, secured a patent for life as absolute proprietor of all the "Charibby Islands" between ten and twenty degrees of latitude. He kept this area under his authority appointing governors until February 26, 1647, at which time the son, James, Earl of Carlisle, made Francis Lord Willoughby his lieutenant general of all the Caribbean Islands for a period of twenty-one years.[7] James Lord Hay, Earl of Carlisle, died in 1660 and as he only had a patent for life, his control over the Caribbean Islands ceased. The patent was voided in 1661 and the King took over the proprietorship of the area.[8]

2. Products and source of labor

As the English settled Barbados, lignum vitae and fustic became commodities of immediate exportation to England in exchange for food and other necessities.[9] However, Captain John Powell proceeded to Guiana from Barbados in 1626 where he contacted Governor Groenewer of the Dutch settlement[10] and procured plants and seeds of cotton, tobacco, Indian corn, oranges, limes, pineapples, yams, cassava melons, and a few other articles peculiar to that climate. Powell also brought back some native Indians who taught the English to grow these products. Tobacco, indigo, ginger, and cotton were planted, and these commodities became the staple crops of Barbados.[11]

The labor supply not only of Barbados, but of every colony established during this time was scarce, and the first laborers of Barbados were white, but were subsequently replaced by the Negro slave.[12] Of the large number of servants transported to the colonies from Bristol between 1654 and 1686, less than 100 came to that colony annually

after 1662 with the exception of 1667 when 106 were imported.[13] In 1652, approximately 8,000 servants, mostly Scots and Irish, and 20,000 Negroes were in Barbados;[14] and by 1684, an estimated 46,602 slaves were on the island.[15] Servants were recruited and procured from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, but never was there a sufficient number arriving in the island to supply the labor demand. The production of sugar on a profitable scale required a greater labor supply than any other commodity. The accelerated increase in the production of that product made the planters realize the necessity to turn to Africa as a source of labor. This crop could withstand the expense of purchasing the slaves, for sugar cultivation was more profitable than any other plant in either Europe or on the continent of America.[16] The slave became the "life-blood" of the West Indian sugar islands.[17] Petitions were constantly being made to the committee of trade for more servants to be sent to the colony, not only to help fill the labor shortage, but to keep a certain ratio of whites to Negroes.[18] The problem of securing servants by 1675 was more difficult, for no land was available to give the servants upon the completion of their indenture.[19] Also in this year the council and assembly of Barbados reported that the produce of the island depended on a "great and continuall supply of slaves and without whome we cannot subsist."[20] Labor was always expensive, which resulted in many shipmasters making the transportation of servants a lucrative business. The cost of passage over to the colonies was from £5 to £6, and upon the return to England, further profit was made in the transporting of sugar.[21] Monmouth rebels and other unwanted persons were being shipped to Barbados in 1686,[22] and/indentured servant along with the
the

slave helped to make Barbados great, and England wealthy.

3. Trade and shipping

The trade of Barbados was small in the initial stages; however, in 1628, approximately 100,000 pounds of tobacco were exported from Barbados and St. Christopher. The production of cotton also was increasing in the island by 1630, and within ten years it had expanded so rapidly that it ranked equal with tobacco in the exports of Barbados. Tobacco was the first large export and both tobacco and cotton were accepted as equivalent currency at this time, with fines and taxes being payable in these commodities.

Cotton manufacturing had not yet begun in Lancashire, England, by 1641, but the small quantity of yarn that was coming into the country was being imported by the Turkey Company. However, the cotton weaving industry was rapidly developing in Lancashire by 1654 with many people depending on the trade as a livelihood.[23] But with the introduction of sugar growing in Barbados, the cotton production of that island was greatly reduced.[24] The majority of the cotton-wool supply of England was being imported from Turkey as the table below indicates:

Year	Cotton Materials Imported	
1663	cotton-wool from Turkey.	42,000 pounds
	cotton yarn " "	12,564 "
1669	cotton-wool " "	1,149,410 "
	cotton yarn " "	400,318 " [25]
1700	Cotton-wool from all sources.	2,000,000 " [26]

The tobacco crop of Barbados gave way to the competition of the continental colonies, but mainly because of the much greater profit in sugar production.[27]

Sugar was introduced into Barbados in 1641 and a small quantity

of that commodity was produced in 1643, but not until 1647 did the inhabitants of this island begin to successfully learn the art of processing the juice of the cane into sugar.[28] Pieter Brower, Dutchman of Brazil, made the first experiment on the plantation of Colonel Richard Holdip, in testing the value of the sugar cane crop in the island; the results of which disclosed that sugar cane was about three times as profitable to produce as tobacco or cotton.[29]

The trade of Barbados was relatively small until the introduction of the sugar industry. The farms were divided into increments of five, ten, twenty, and thirty acres; and planted in tobacco, ginger, indigo, and cotton producing minute profits. Barbados, with the introduction of sugar expanded rapidly during the latter stages of the Civil War in England, for the Dutch gave the plantation owners credit, furnished the island with Negroes, coppers, stills, and other necessities in the production of sugar. The success of sugar planting required large acreage, considerable capital, and a generous supply of labor. The capital for establishing a 500 acre plantation in 1657 amounted to approximately £14,000. These factors prevented the small planter from establishing a sugar factory, eventually forcing him from the island with the result that the land and sugar production fell into the hands of a few.[30]

This important commodity, which was to be instrumental in bringing wealth to England, had its beginning in Bengal, India. The Greeks and Romans knew nothing of sugar but used honey as a sweetner. By the fifth century the cane had spread through the channels of trade from Bengal to the city of Jondisapur in the Tigris Valley, and by the tenth century the juice was being refined into sugar in both the

Tigris and Euphrates valleys. The Mohammedans, in their wanderings, were instrumental in introducing sugar cane to the Western world. They planted the cane along their route wherever the climate was suitable, in southwestern Asia, in Egypt, in the islands of the Mediterranean, chiefly in Sicily, in the northwestern part of Africa along the Atlantic seaboard, and in southern Spain. Sugar cane was introduced into Syria and Palestine sometime between the seventh century and the Crusades, for the crusaders took the cane back to Europe telling of the juice meeting their needs in time of hunger. Sicily, being the first place outside of Asia that sugar cane was grown, began furnishing Europe with this product, and the island became famous for its sugar in the fifteenth century. The Venetians in the twelfth century imported sugar cane from India and Egypt and made crude sugar one of their primary commodities of trade with Europe. However, not until 1470 did the Venetians discover the correct method of refining sugar, which resulted in Venetian sugar becoming famous throughout the Western world.[31]

The Portuguese took the sugar cane from Africa and introduced it into the Portuguese colony of Brazil in 1531 and sugar from that source was the finest made for a considerable period. In fact, the Portuguese furnished all of the European countries with sugar until after the British West Indian Islands grew into prominence in producing this product.[32] Pernambuco, Brazil was the largest settlement of the area, and by 1583, 66 sugar factories were in production, while another Portuguese settlement, Bahia, had 36 mills and factories, all of which combined were producing 6,048,000 pounds of sugar annually and requiring 40 ships to transport the commodity to Europe. Brazil

had 120 sugar mills by 1600, and the peak of sugar production reached 57,000,000 pounds in 1670 and began to decline after that date, due to the competition of the British sugar islands. In 1760, the output of Brazil soared to 68,000,000 pounds.[33] Sugar also was being grown in Hispaniola in the early part of the sixteenth century, and in 1527, twenty-four mills were in production. By 1530, twelve ships arrived in Spain with 3,000 chests of 50 pounds each. However, the sugar industry was of short duration in the Spanish section of Hispaniola.[34]

Officially sugar first appeared in England in 1264 according to the first available price quotations, and in the following three centuries, the price ranged from one shilling to two shillings per pound on this article.[35] In the first half of the seventeenth century, small quantities of sugar continued to be imported from Spain at exorbitant prices, making the commodity a luxury only the affluent could afford. Sugar remained a scarcity until the development of the West Indian Islands.[36]

Although sugar cane was introduced into Barbados in 1641, not until after 1647 did the plantation owners begin to realize a substantial return from their efforts. The sugar first imported into England from the plantations did not come from Barbados, but from Surinam.[37] Francis Willoughby sent Anthony Rowes and 100 Barbadians to Guiana in 1641; the colony grew; sugar works were established; and by 1662, seven English ships loaded sugar from that colony. The Dutch captured the settlement in 1667 and retained it by the terms of the Treaty of Breda.[38]

The Dutch, during the Civil War, began supplying Barbados with goods and necessities for sugar production, and by 1650 the island had

developed into an area of wealth and prosperity due to the capital and trade of theDutch.[39] The sugar cane requires from fourteen to eighteen months to mature and was producing a maximum of 4,000 pounds and a minimum of 2,000 pounds per acre in 1650.[40] The quality and quantity of the sugar of the island after 1647 was such that the price of the Brazilian commodity on the European market was reduced from £8 per hundredweight to £5 per hundredweight.[41] As trade often shifts from one nation to another during a war, the Dutch took control of the lucrative commerce of Barbados in the 1640s. Although the English founded the island, the Dutch were not only supplying Barbados, but most of the other colonies on the Frontier. The Civil War, therefore, caused the English to forfeit much of the trade with her colonies. Barbados was receiving commodities from France, Holland, Spain, Madeiras, Azores, New England, Virginia, and Russia during the strife in England.[42]

England realizing that the Dutch had usurped the trade of her colonies, passed an act in 1650 excluding all foreign trade with the colonies except by special licenses, in an attempt to recapture the trade of the Frontier. The people of Barbados were ignoring the act and were freely trading with the Dutch until about 1655 when the ships of Holland were being consficated, thus causing a reduction in the trade of the island. The merchants of Barbados made a vain attempt to have the law repealed hoping to improve their trade.[43] The people of Barbados had all of the advantages of free trade between 1641 and 1655, but after the latter date the English Navy was in such force that "....it may safely be said that alien intercourse with Barbados dwindled to insignificance....."[44]

The production of Barbados was increasing so rapidly that 100 sail were said to be visiting the island by 1650 exporting indigo, tobacco,

cotton, sugar, ginger, and fustic wood.[45] In the following year, the island was referred to as "one of the best and sweetest Islands in the English possession."[46] Scientific farmers in Barbados in 1650 with a plantation of 500 acres had the land divided as indicated:

200 acres for sugar
80 acres for pasture
120 acres for wood
30 acres for tobacco
5 acres for ginger
5 acres for cotton wool
70 acres for provisions as corn, potatoes, limes, fruits, melons and other food.[47]

Also in this year Ligon declared that 55,072 acres of sugar were being cultivated in Barbados with a medium yield of 3,000 pounds per acre, or a total of £2,065,200. He further calculated that the sugar was worth £3,097,800 when clayed, and when sold in London at 12d. per pound resulted in a total of £6,195,600. "Now you can see what a vast revenue this little spot of ground can produce in twenty-two months."[48]

The volume of trade between England and the Frontier colonies in the middle of the seventeenth century was small,[49] but after 1650, the trade and commerce of Barbados was rapidly increasing. Large quantities of boots, shoes, cheese, shirts, drawers, caps, arms, and household necessities were being exported from England to the island. Between April 7, 1652 and November 18, 1656 more than 1,300 draft horses were transported to the island to be used on the plantations and sugar mills.[50] The planters of the island exported 13,900,000 pounds of sugar[51] to England in 1655, and from December 25, 1654 to December 25, 1655, customs were collected in London on merchandise from Barbados in the amounts indicated:

Goods and merchandise	£ 1,118	3s.	8d.
White sugar	1,419	12	0
Brown sugar	10,002	10	0
Dry ginger	390	0	0
Total	£12,930	5s.	8d. note 52

Fortunes were rapidly being accumulated beginning in the 1650s, and men reported they would remain in Barbados until they could purchase £10,000 estates back in England.[53] Sugar had become the major crop in Barbados by 1650,[54] while tobacco continued to be planted, but Governor Jonathan Atkins of Barbados in July, 1677 stated that"....very little ginger and indigo grown, and no tobacco....."[55]

Barbados had become very prosperous between 1640 and 1660; many fugitives, volunteers, and prisoners had been transported to the island furnishing a large labor supply making possible the consistent increase in the production of sugar.[56] Sugar to the amount of 14,800,000 pounds was imported into England in 1660 from all of the West Indian Islands; 1,462,200 pounds of this amount were re-exported.[57] The following year sugar was referred to as the "....chief and almost the only manufacture by which the inhabitants subsist....."[58]

The importation of muscovado sugar from the colonies brought about an increase in the sugar refining industry. Two sugar refining houses were established in London in 1544, but the industry was not too successful in the beginning because of the competition of the Dutch at Antwerp, who could supply England with a better grade of sugar for less money. However, after 1585 London became the center of the sugar refining industry of Europe.[59] The Dutch were the greatest competitors of the refined sugar of England. The city of Leiden in 1605 had three refineries, forty in 1650, and sixty in 1661; however, due to foreign competition and taxes, the number of refineries were

reduced to twenty-one by the close of the century.[60] The English government as well as the French had a policy of preventing and discouraging the refining of sugar in the colonies not only for the support of a few capitalists at home but mainly for the "shipowners, to whom it is more profitable" to transport the raw product than the reduction into white sugar by refining of the muscovado.[61]

Sugar generally declined in price between 1660 and 1688 because of the increased production of the West Indies, foreign competition, the navigation acts, and the confining of the sale to one market; however, the output of Barbados continued to increase during this period.[62] The committee for plantations in May, 1661 reported that cotton and tobacco were formerly the commodities of Barbados, but sugar had now become the primary crop.[63] Two months later, planters, merchants, and traders in a petition to the King to improve the price of sugar informed him that the island

> ....now and for some time has employed two hundred sail of shipping yearly; that scarce any island in the world (known to petitioners) yields so great a revenue or employs so much shipping and stock; that the price of sugar has thereby been reduced from 3L 10s per hundred to less than half.....[64]

The soil of Barbados was indicating signs of exhaustion in 1663 because of the constant planting of sugar cane, but the planters had not as yet begun to use fertilizer.[65] Even though the yield per acre was declining, the increase in production and exportation of sugar had greatly increased, for in 1663 the amounts indicated were imported into England:

Brown sugar.	13,000,000	pounds
Add 1/10 for outports	1,300,000	"
Total brown sugar. . . .	14,300,000	"

White sugar. . . . . 1,600,000 pounds
Add 1/10 for outports 160,000 "
Total white sugar. . . . . 1,760,000 pounds

Total white and brown 16,060,000 pounds.[66]

In this same year 1,316,200 pounds of white sugar and 222,000 pounds of brown sugar were imported into England from Portugal.[67]

While the majority of the products of Barbados were being exported to England, the majority of the meat, corn, and fish came from New England.[68] Francis Willoughby wrote from Barbados on November 4, 1663 that the planters would have "perished from want of foode if from New England the Island had not been supplied."[69] The continental colonies also furnished the West Indies with staves, hoops, and other necessary commodities, making possible for the planters to expend all of their energy in the production of sugar.[70]

Sugar, rapidly increasing in production in the West Indies, became so important and such a valuable commodity to England that the article was enumerated in the Navigation Act of 1660 confining the exportation to England. The following year planters and traders unsuccessfully petitioned Parliament to remove sugar from the list. In 1662 the growth of sugar in the French West Indies was reduced because of a government policy, and England began to control the sugar market of the world.[71] The demand for this product resulted in a considerable increase in English shipping to the island of Barbados. Willoughby writing to the King in September, 1663 reported that "ships are very scarce and cannot be hired but at excessive rates."[72]

Ships transporting sugar and tobacco were usually much larger than the vessels used in other trades, for these commodities were

bulky. On July 21, 1666, ships in the number of 26 arrived in Bristol ladened with sugar, tobacco, indigo, and other items of the Frontier and all of the vessels were of 200 tons and above.[73] The apparent wealth of the island in 1665 was expressed by a contemporary, who wrote that Barbados was "....but one great garden, and such plenty of all things that a man need not wish himself in London....."[74] The further prosperity of Barbados was conveyed to the people in the following year when Governor William Willoughby wrote to the King declaring that "....Barbados that fair jewell of your Majesty's Crown ....yields her Prince the greatest income /of all possessions/....."[75] "All the kings in Europe have not such a precious and rare pearl in their Crowns."[76]

The proprietors of Barbados by 1666 were planting a large acreage of sugar cane[77] and had increased their slave population from 6,400 in 1643 [78] to between 40,000 and 50,000 in 1666.[79] In the latter year, the ratio was six Negroes to each white person, but by 1668, the number was raised to eight to ten slaves for each white.[80] The island was seventeen times more rich in 1666 than it was prior to the introduction of sugar.[81] The following year another contemporary declared that the value of the island had increased forty times from that of 1645.[82] These declarations indicated the great prosperity that the inhabitants of the island were experiencing. Merchants trading to the West Indies informed the King in 1666 that more sugar and commodities were in the island than the available ships could load; the shortage was due to the failure of the usual number of vessels going to Barbados the previous year.[83] The combined possessions of Barbados, Nevis, Antiqua, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Jamaica, and

Surinam were reported in 1666 as employing "400 English ships" annually with 10,000 seamen, and furnished a native commodity of above £800,000 value to the nation, besides a considerable revenue to the Crown; ~~and that~~ not more than £40,000 of the amount was clear gain to the planter, and the remainder was distributed in England in exchange for provisions and manufactures.[84] In 1667, a reported 200 sail were in Barbados and were to depart in early winter for England.[85] The sugar trade was such a lucrative business that a Mr. Smith, prominent sugar refiner of London, constructed a four-story building of hewn stone in the port city of Liverpool in 1667 which marked the beginning of the subsequent large trade between this city and the West Indies.[86]

The soil of Barbados by 1668 was only producing about two-thirds of the sugar per acre as previously, for sugar cane rapidly reduces the growing potential of the soil and the land was becoming exhausted.[87] Within the next twenty years the planters were using large quantities of fertilizer on the land. Even though the land was producing less sugar per acre, the export of that commodity continued to increase, for in 1669, the amounts indicated were imported into England from Barbados:

Brown sugar.	16,677,600 pounds
Add 1/10 for outports	1,667,700 "
Total brown sugar. . . .	18,345,300 pounds
White sugar.	2,372,000 pounds
Add 1/10 for outports	237,200 "
Total white sugar.	2,609,200 pounds
Total white and brown	20,954,500 pounds.[88]

Sugar was the major export of Barbados, but ginger, indigo, and cotton-wool also were shipped in small quantities.[89] Dalby Thomas

expressed the attitude of the English people toward Barbados when he said:

> Invention in Barbados has proceeded so fast and so far for planting, pressing, boiling, separating and cleansing cane, as well as for drawing excellent spirits from molasses...., that now the English exceed all nations of the World in regard to Cane. The Pleasure, Glory, and Grandeur of England has been advanced more by sugar than by any other commodity, wool not excepted.[90]

Large quantities of sugar were being exported from Barbados in ever-increasing amounts, and the colony was importing considerable manufactured goods from the mother country; utensils for boiling sugar, working tools for tradesmen as carpenters, joiners, smiths, masons, mill-wrights, wheel-wrights, coopers, iron, steel, lead, brass, pewter, horses, fish, flesh, and manufactured clothes as hats, shoes, cloth, and similar items.[91] Also in this year, approximately 715,640 yards of cotton cloth and 180,000 bricks were exported from England to the Frontier with a portion of these commodities going to Barbados.[92] Ferdinando Georges, reporting to the council in March, 1672, declared that Barbados was managed by 5,000 Englishmen who had purchased 70,000 slaves, and the island imported £300,000 of supplies yearly from England; annually employed 200 sail of ships and that the combined West Indies possessions exported £600,000 of commodities to England each year.[93]

The island was no less than one large sugar factory, for in 1672 the plantation owners were not producing enough food for even one-fourth of the population; every available acre of land was being utilized in the growth of sugar cane, and the food with all other necessities were being imported from England and the continental colonies.[94]

Twelve sugar refining works were in England in 1671 and were

busily engaged in converting muscovado sugar to white, although a large precentage of the brown sugar was re-exported without being refined.[95] Approximately half of the sugar imported from the colonies by 1675 was re-exported. In 1685, the export of refined sugar was reduced because no drawbacks of duties were allowed; whereas the entire import duty could be drawn back on raw sugar, resulting in its continuous re-exportation. The import duty on raw sugar in 1693 was placed at eighteen pence per hundredweight with a drawback of nine pence upon being re-exported.[96] The prices of sugar in the West Indies between 1674 and 1688 varied between seventeen shillings and twenty-five shillings per hundredweight, but the price began to increase beginning with the last year of this study.[97]

Barbados was enjoying a relatively lucrative trade with the continental colonies and receiving much of her food provisions from that area. More than a half-million pounds of sugar along with other products were exported to these colonies in the year of 1677 to 1678 with the majority of this quantity being exported to New England. Virginia imported more than 130,000 pounds in this year.[98] The products still being exported from Barbados in 1678 consisted of sugar, ginger, indigo, cotton-wool, tobacco, logwood, fustic, and lignum vitae. A further report was made that a "....great store of Indian corn yielding two crops yearly" was being grown in the island.[99] In 1676, approximately 150 ships of 20-300 tons each were trading with Barbados annually from England, Ireland, New York, New England, Virginia and other colonies.[100] The people of the island at this time owned approximately sixty sloops used in making trips to New England for supplies, inter-island trade, and for loading ships in the harbor.[101] The intra-

colony trade in enumerated commodities was of sufficient quantity that the government officials of England passed an act in 1673 "For the Better Securing of the Plantation Trade" which provided for the duty as indicated to be collected on the goods when traded from one colony to another:

White sugar	5s. per cwt.
Brown "	1d. per cwt.
Tobacco	1d. per lb.
Cotton-wool	½d. per lb.
Indigo	2s. per lb.
Logwood	£5 per cwt.
Fustick & other dying woods	6d. per cwt.
Cocoa nuts	1d. per cwt.[102]

The duty collected on enumerated products, which were traded or sold to other colonies from Barbados after the passage of the act in 1673 averaged approximately £487 annually.[103]

The custom records indicate that 85 vessels with an average of 116 tons each, arrived in the port of London from Barbados between September 29, 1676 and September 29, 1677. For the same period 40 ships averaging 170 tons each departed from London enroute to Barbados. An additional 40 ships departed for the other West Indian Islands, and the combined 80 ships averaged 142 tons each. These figures indicate that the ships trading to the sugar islands during this period averaged more than 100 tons, with the larger ships trading to Barbados.[104] The customs collected on sugar in 1675 as a result of this shipping to the island amounted to £25,000 with the figure being reduced in the following two years because of the war.[105] The risk of crossing the Atlantic reduced the number of ships coming to the island to transport the sugar, and the cost of freight for this product to England rose to £17 per ton in 1676 effecting a loss to the treasury

and a hardship to the planters.[106] The average price of freight per ton of sugar from Barbados to London between 1678-1689 ranged from £3-£7, and from Jamaica the price averaged £5-£8 with the charge doubling and tripling during the war years after 1689.[107] Although the people of Barbados were obtaining the majority of their food provisions from the continental colonies, English goods in the year of 1676 were imported to the amount of £50,000, and by 1697 this figure had increased to £146,849 in all types of merchandise.[108]

The demand for sugar increased rapidly in England in the last half of the seventeenth century, largely because of its use in coffee and tea which became popular as beverages.[109] Coffee reached England in small quantities by 1626, and the first coffee house was established in Oxford, England, in 1650. The sale of coffee increased rapidly, and the entire supply of this commodity was transported from Arabia for fifty years after its introduction into England. Coffee, at first, sold at enormous prices, as much as 100s. per pound. However, by 1662, it could be purchased at approximately 8s. per pound.[110] In 1669, coffee to the amount of 2,820 pounds was imported from Turkey and the supply continued to come from this area of the world for quite some time.[111]

Tea was introduced into England in 1640, for this item was mentioned in a law placing a duty of eight pence per gallon on all tea sold in taverns.[112] China was the only place from which tea could be obtained and the Portuguese had a monopoly of the China trade throughout most of the seventeenth century by paying heavy gratuities to the Chinese.[113] In 1660, an act of Parliament stated that a duty of eight pence "will be" charged for every gallon of chocolate, sherbet, and tea

made for sale; whereas, a duty of only four pence was charged on coffee. The officials of the East India Company in 1664 wishing to give King Charles II a present, bought 2 1/8 pounds of tea at a cost of 40s. per pound. Four years later 22 3/4 pounds were purchased at 50s. per pound. Thus, tea was a luxury in England and could be afforded only by the wealthy.[114] The East India Company in 1669 made its first importation of tea in the amount of 143 pounds with 70 pounds being imported in the following year. Both shipments came from Bantam, Java which had been imported into the island by the Portuguese or Chinese. Bantam, Surat, Ganpam, and Madras were the sources of English tea until 1689. In 1670 a tax of two shillings per gallon was placed on all tea sold in taverns. This tax was unsuccessful and in 1689, William substituted a custom duty of five shillings per pound on tea imported and two-thirds of this amount was returned on drawbacks upon the tea being re-exported.[115] The company did not think that tea was worth importing until 1678 at which time 4,713 pounds were transported into the country.[116] The officials of the East India Company stated in a directive in 1686 that:

> ...as the Chyna Trade was becoming more promising, Tease and Spices were, in future, to form Part of the Company's Imports, and not to be articles of Private Trade.[117]

The East India Company between 1697 and 1699 was importing about 20,000 pounds of tea annually, and by 1707 the importations had reached 60,000 pounds with a retail price of 16s per pound. Within fourteen more years the company was importing over 1,000,000 pounds annually and the amount continued to increase throughout the eighteenth century.[118] Tea was a definite luxury in the seventeenth century, and there was no sign as late as 1700 that tea would become the national

beverage of England.[119]

The three major crops of Barbados in 1681 consisted of sugar, cotton, and ginger with "little of other produce fitt for Merchandise, [and] little or noe Tobacco, or Indigo...."[120] The number of acres planted in the various commodities in this year were itemized as: 23,040 acres of cotton, 2,017 of tobacco, and 110,021 acres of sugar.[121] These figures were exaggerations for the island in its entirety only consists of 106,280 acres. The products grown and produced in the island with the amounts of each exported between January 1, 1681 and July 1, 1683 as taken from the revenue books of the 4½ per cent are as indicated:

8713 butts sugar at 1600 lbs. per butt. .	13,940,800	lbs.
215 puncheons sugar at 1000 lbs.per butt	215,000	"
26266 hogshead sugar at 900 lbs.	23,639,400	"
5299 barrels sugar at 400 lbs.	2,119,600	"
3267 hogsheads rum at 65 gallons	212,355	gals.
5084 barrels of rum at 30 "	152,520	"
5856 hogsheads of molasses at 60 gals. .	351,360	"
4973 barrels molasses at 28 gals.. . . .	139,244	"
2800 bags cotton at 190 lbs.	543,400	lbs.
13894 bags ginger at 90 lbs.	1,250,460	"
18 hogsheads of lime juice at 60 gals.	1,080	gals.
25 barrels lime juice at 30 gals. . . .	1,560	"[122]

The amount of sugar exported from the island for the eighteen months amounted to 39,914,800 pounds or an average of approximately 26,609,868 pounds annually. These figures do not represent the amounts imported into England but the quantity exported from the island of which possibly 26,000,000 went to England, and the remainder to other colonies in exchange for provisions. Ships trading to the island and exporting these large quantities of commodities in 1680, were listed as "200 large ocean-going barques," sailed from Barbados to London, and that the number had been as high as 270 such vessels.[123] The number trading to the island by 1683 from all ports consisted of 338 vessels averaging 78

tons each.[124]

Sugar works in Barbados in 1683 numbering 358 were employed in processing the sugar cane juice of the plantations into muscovado sugar and some white sugar in preparation for exportation. Barbados also in this year had 2,381 servants, 46,602 slaves; and the number of persons imported into the colony in 1682 consisted of 3,995 Negroes, 385 servants, and 325 freemen.[125] The planters of Barbados from 1680 to 1688 were receiving a good supply of slaves averaging more than 2,000 such laborers annually, and the life of the sugar plantations depended on this supply of Negro slaves.[126]

The French were producing considerable quantities of sugar in the West Indies possessions and twenty-three sugar refineries were established in France for processing the raw sugar for the retail market. The French colonists in the West Indies were forbidden to refine the sugar in the plantations, retaining that job for merchants back in France.[127] The Dutch were in competition with the English also, but on a small scale, for in 1683 only a little more than 3,000,000 pounds of sugar was imported into Amsterdam from the Dutch colony of Surinam, and by 1689 somewhat over 6,000,000 pounds were coming into Holland from that colony.[128] However, England was and continued to be the sugar center of the world during the seventeenth century. She was exporting sugar to those countries from which she had previously imported the commodity, prior to the introduction of the product into her own possessions, particularly the Levant,

> ....where by selling our sugars cheaper than they could make them, all the plantations formerly settled in the Turkish dominions gradually declined, except in Egypt, at last wore out.[129]

The demand for sugar in England and Europe continued to in-

crease, and in 1685 and 1686 Barbados had the largest sugar crop ever produced on the island.[130] Also in 1685 on the accession of James II, a new duty was placed on sugar providing a tax of 2s. 4d. per 100 pounds of muscovado sugar and 5s. per 100 pounds on white sugar. This new tax was an attempt to force the planters to export the raw sugars into England in order that they could be refined in the home country, and to continue to have a large amount of shipping available for the merchants of England. Three pounds of raw sugar were required for making one pound of white sugar; thus, if all of the sugar or the majority of that item was refined in the colonies, the shipping of England would be greatly reduced.[131] The average sugar being produced in Barbados in 1685 was 2,000 pounds per acre,[132] and the merchants trading to Barbados in 1687 were realizing approximately forty to sixty per cent on sugar purchased from the planters.[133] Profits of this nature resulted in many persons who were participating in the fishing trade both in the waters of England and Newfoundland between 1670 and 1696 leaving that profession and entering the shipping trade of the Frontier. The shifting of the labor from the fishing industry to that of the Frontier, caused a decline in the fishing trade of England.[134] Even though the labor changed from one industry to that of another, the economy of England was not damaged, for the wealth flowing in from the Frontier was in excess of the amount lost due to the decline of the fishing industry. During this period, England was receiving more profit from Barbados than any other possession.[135]

Trade not only to Barbados, but traffic in "general did considerably increase from the end of the Dutch Wars in 1673 to the Revolution."[136] Barbados was the "key of America and the center of trade,"of the Frontier, for her export of products was great and the employment of shipping was large.[137] In the war year of 1690, sugar

to the amount of 25,696,000 pounds was exported;[138] the quantity without doubt exceeded this figure in 1688, for in 1690 the country was at war and an embargo was placed on shipping. The figure had reached 26,954,000 in 1698[139] with the amount greatly increasing in the eighteenth century.[140] The combined customs in 1688 collected from this commodity and tobacco enriched the treasury by £148,861, and as customs on sugar were exceeding that of tobacco, a conservative estimate on the income from sugar from all of the West Indies is approximately £76,000.[141] Further interpretation indicates that the customs evolving from the sugar of Barbados were about £37,000 annually.[142]

Frequent statements throughout this period of study declared that Barbados was employing 200-400 sail of ships or more annually. Many of these reports were made by individuals holding interests in Barbados or the West Indies, who were endeavoring to secure favors; and hoping to influence the grantors, they exaggerated the imports, exports, and shipping of the island.[143] The vessels trading to Barbados ranged from 5 tons to 300 tons, and when reports and shipping information concerning the island were made, usually the combined number trading from all parts was given and not just those trading from England.[144] However, through checking the customs records, manuscripts, colonial papers, and the interpretation of figures, approximately 140 English vessels were annually trading to Barbados at the close of this study.[145] The shipping to the island rapidly increased in the next century for the number of ships annually departing from England enroute to Barbados by 1714 were 347, more than doubling the vessels of 1688 trading to that island.[146] Although the products of Barbados were employing approximately 140 vessels in direct trade, merchants

of England were re-exporting about half of the imports from Barbados; thus, employing a greater number of English ships. English vessels trading to Barbados were larger than the normal size employed in the European trade; consequently, more ships would be used in distributing the same quantity of the commodity than employed in transporting the article to England. Barbados greatly enhanced the shipping and welfare of England.

B. Factors Affecting Trade

1. War and loss of laborers

War is an enemy of trade, and during the wars in which England was involved, her trade always suffered.[147] The Civil War in England had its repercussions on the Frontier. Both Parliament and the King endeavored to control the colonies throughout the strife in England, but neither faction could do so because of the difficulty at home, and the colonists recognized this fact. The conditions in England restricted the trade to Barbados and the merchants began to develop a trade and vent their products in traffic with the Dutch and New England traders.[148] The decade of war and confusion at home cost the English a considerable amount of shipping to the Frontier. The Dutch took control not only of the shipping of Barbados, but that of the other Frontier possessions. The Dutch were the international carriers of the world and Holland was in her maritime greatness by the middle of the seventeenth century.[149] Parliament passed an act on October 8, 1650 prohibiting all trade with Barbados, Virginia, and Antigua because of not respecting the authority of the Commonwealth.[150] Admiral George Ayscue took a fleet to subdue Barbados, and Francis Willoughby and the Royalists were forced to terms on January 11, 1652, placing the West Indies under

the control of Parliament from 1652 until the Restoration in 1660.[151] These factors naturally impeded trade.

War was declared with the Dutch in 1652, with the immediate cause being that the Dutch would not salute the English ships in the Channel; other causes were the failure of the Dutch to recognize the Commonwealth government, and the navigation act.[152] The Dutch took twelve ships at Barbados on one occasion in this war with prizes amounting to £3,203; and thereafter, and throughout the remainder of this period, the people of Barbados were always in fear of war and were constantly requesting ordnance and protection from England.[153]

Admiral William Penn under instructions of Cromwell to purge the West Indies of the Spanish inducted free as well as indentured servants into the military in Barbados in 1655, taking 4,000 from Barbados in hopes of settling San Domingo. The expedition was a failure and the majority of the people perished, which was a great loss of human lives along with a detriment and loss of labor to the planters of Barbados.[154]

The Second Dutch War placed a hardship upon the planters of Barbados, for the merchants trading to the island declared in 1666 that,

> ....the fewness of ships that went last year and the plenteousness of crops, there remained behind great quantities of sugar and goods more than double what the ships now going can load.....[155]

The Dutch took twenty to thirty ships in the vicinity of Barbados in this war.[156] The English government transported supplies to Barbados between 1665 and 1668 amounting to £8,695 2s. 1d. for the defense of the island. The war was costly in men, ships, and materials, and greatly disrupted trade.[157] V. T. Harlow declared that

the Second Dutch War resulted in "....very great decrease in trade and a consequent lack of food supplies....."[158] The loss of ships forced the English to initiate the convoy system, and this type of protection was used in the Dutch Wars of 1664 and 1672 with the ships frequently sailing with considerably less men than was the complement to sail the vessels. The shipping of England covered such a great expanse of the ocean that Navy ships were frequently not available to escort all of the convoys.[159] The limiting of the number of ships caused the planters to always complain of the lack of ships in the 1670s as well as in the other wars. The freight rate also doubled or tripled, which was another major hardship on the planter.[160] The governor of Barbados wrote in 1689 that,

> In time of war, freight is dear, risk is great, and the loss on sugar while waiting for convenience of shipping very considerable. The produce of the island is worth much less on the spot in time of war.....[161]

England has been involved in many wars, and Barbados is the only British possession in the West Indies "over which no foreign flag has ever flown."[162]

2. Pirates, privateers, and competition

Pirates and privateers continued to harass shipping; in 1672 nine sugar laden ships of a convoy of twenty-nine enroute from Barbados to England were taken by Dutch privateers.[163] Two years later the "Golden Lion" with 309 hogsheads of sugar was taken by a French privateer. The Spanish also were preying on shipping in the 1670s and 1680s.[164] Pirates were making large sums of money by taking sugar laden vessels and transporting that commodity to the continental colonies, selling it, and purchasing large estates on the

continent.[165]

Competition is a factor that affected trade in this period. The French after the Restoration began to increase their sugar production in their possessions in the West Indies and especially in the 1670s and 1680s.[166] The island of Martinique in 1671 had 12 sugar works; by 1680 the number had increased to 122 and 184 by 1687. Guadalupe had 65 such works in 1667 and in 1674 the number had increased to 113 mills.[167] The Dutch in the 1680s were importing 3,000,000 pounds to 5,000,000 pounds of sugar into Amsterdam from Surinam.[168] The planters of Barbados were not only complaining of the French competition after 1660, but did not want the English section of St. Christopher to be restored to England in 1667 because of the production of sugar on the island and its competing with the Barbados market.[169] The colonies also were overproducing sugar beyond the consumption needs of the mother country, causing a reduction in price. The prices of Frontier commodities continued to be low and England was in a deep trade depression in the middle 1660s and fighting one of the most expensive naval wars thus far experienced by her or any other nation. Money was universally scarce and the country was constantly facing war and obstacles throughout this period of study, all of which were retarding factors to trade and shipping.[170]

3. Hurricanes, locusts, and droughts

Even though sugar cane was comparatively easy to produce, there was always uncertainty in that West Indian crop because of hurricanes, too much rain, drought, locust and caterpillars, Indians, fires, and similar catastrophes. Incidents occurred affecting the production and trade of Barbados as noted:

a. 1663 locusts and caterpillars [171]
b. 1667 fire destroyed Bridgetown [171]
c. 1667 hurricane [171]
d. 1668 drought [171]
e. 1668 fire in warehouse doing damage at £300,000 to £400,000 [172]
f. 1669 hurricane [173]
g. 1670 epidemic of sickness [171]
h. 1672 seven ships destroyed in hurricane in September off coast of Barbados [174]
i. 1672 ten ships destroyed in hurricane in December off coast of Barbados [175]
j. 1674 eight ships and 300 houses destroyed [176]
k. 1675 hurricane in summer that destroyed 1,000 houses, killed 200 people, destroyed cane fields, corn, ruined stored sugar, destroyed works, mills, utensils, and 12 ships in the harbor [177]
l. 1676 hurricane very destructive [178]
m. 1680 very bad crop and ships had to wait six months for load [179]
n. 1683 hurricane very damaging to crops [180]
o. 1687 caterpillars and lack of rain reduced quantity of sugar and corn crop [181]

England and her colonies had many trials and tribulations, and only through the great wealth that was flowing into the country from her Frontier was England able to withstand the costly wars and assist and pilot her possessions through the catastrophes and troubled years. The many hardships, however, did not prevent Barbados from having an overall increase in trade and production in this period.[182]

C. Effects of the Founding and Settlement of this Colony on English Shipping

1. Customs and exports

Two major factors indicate the unmistaken value of Barbados to England; namely, the amount of sugar exported and the customs collected from the exports.

Prior to England having her own sugar plantations, she was constrained to pay Portugal high prices for this commodity, but by 1690 the British sugar islands had caused the prices in England to decrease

by two-thirds of what she had formerly paid Portugal for sugar.[183] In 1559 the combined worth of the sugar imported into all of England was only £19,756, indicating a small quantity because of the great expense of sugar at that time.[184] The introduction of this item into Barbados in 1641 resulted in that island exporting 13,940,000 pounds[185] by 1655 with the figure increasing to 16,060,000 pounds eight years later.[186] The trade and shipping of the island continued to expand, for in 1669 sugar was exported in the amount of 20,954,500 pounds.[187] The increased slave population of the island made possible the reclamation of a larger acreage of land for producing sugar cane, resulting in approximately 26,609,868 pounds being exported in 1683 from that "garden of the Caribbean."[188] The sugar works in Barbados numbered 358 in this year, which was another indication of the prosperity of the sugar trade of the island.[189] The next available figure on sugar production was seven years later at which time 25,696,000 pounds were exported,[190] but the country was involved in war and an embargo was placed on ships limiting the number trading to Barbados; consequently, the logic/assumption that more sugar was imported in 1688 should be correct, but no figures are available. The planters in 1698 exported 26,954,000 pounds.[191] Such large quantities of sugar along with ginger, molasses, and dyeing woods were great assets to England employing many people in preparing the commodity for retail, shipping, and selling the product, all adding to the wealth of the nation. The people as a group in Barbados were seventeen times more rich in 1666 than prior to the introduction of sugar,[192] and many fathers went to the West Indies poor and sent their sons and daughters back to England rich.[193]

The figures on the amount of customs collected are other "sign posts" of the prosperity and expansion of the traffic of Barbados. The customs collected in England on commodities from the island in 1655 amounted to £12,929[194] with the figures almost doubling the gain to the treasury, reaching £25,000 a score of years later.[195] The treasury issued a statement in 1680 that the revenue of England was "always improving by Trade and good management."[196] The treasury realized approximately £37,000 in customs from the products of Barbados in 1688,[197] and by 1700 the products of the island were resulting in about £300,000 annually for the planters, about £70,000 in customs for the treasury in England, and in addition to approximately £11,000 from the 4½ per cent duty on the products exported from the island.[198]

2. Employment of shipping

Even if figures were lacking, the average layman could not help but realize the great increase in shipping of England as a result of the founding and settlement of Barbados. The large quantities of bulk products required the 140 ships trading to the island annually to be above the average size, employing many people in most every phase of livelihood to build, construct, sail the ship to the island, and return with a cargo, unload the commodities, and prepare them for retail. The founding of this island not only affected the merchant marine of England, but many phases of industry; thereby enhancing the entire population of England. "The main feature of Barbadian history is that it was little more than one large sugar factory, owned by a few absentee proprietors and worked by a mass of alien labor."[199] Barbados was truly a "jewel" in the crown of England.

NOTES

CHAPTER V

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3. Algernon E. Aspinall, The British West Indies, their History, Resources and Progress (London: Isaac Pitman & Sons, LtD., 1912), 18-19.

4. C.O. 29/2, pp. 1-2.

5. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 20.

6. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2441, pp. 2-3.

7. T1/1, p. 211. See also British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2441, p. 7; C. O. 29/1, p. 1.

8. British Museum, Additional MSS. 38714, p. 4; British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 504.

9. Poyer, op. cit., 17.

10. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 20.

11. Aspinall, op. cit., 19. See also C.O. 29/2, pp. 1-2.

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15. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2441, pp. 18-20.

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22. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, Nos. 540, 541.

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25. Library Congress, British Trade MSS. 1662-1790.

26. Daniels, op. cit., 16.

27. Pitman, op. cit., 62.

28. C.O. 318/1, p. 4.

29. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 3662, pp. 54, 59, 62, 70.

30. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 3662, p. 59; Richard Ligon, A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados (London: Peter Parker, 1673), 27.

31. Ellis, op. cit., 34-35. See also C.O. 318/1, pp. 1-3.

32. Ibid., 60-61; British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2302.

33. Noel Deerr, The History of Sugar (London: Chapman & Hall LtD., 1949), I, 104; Herbert I. Bloom, The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Williamsport, Pennsylvania: Bayard Press, 1937), 129. See also Beer, Commercial Policy Toward American Colonies, 62.

34. Deerr, op. cit., 122-123.

35. Ellis, op. cit., 52-53. See Appendix note 6 for sugar prices during this period of study.

36. E190/1136/10, pp. 3, 9, 12.

37. John Campbell, Candid and Impartial Considerations on the Nature of the Sugar Trade; the Comparative Importance of the British and French Islands in the West Indies (London: R. Baldwin, 1763), 8.

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39. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 3662, p. 59.

40. Higham, op. cit., 145. See also Ligon, op. cit., 95.

41. C.O. 318/1, p. 5.

42. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 24, 39; Francis Brewster, Essays on Trade and Navigation (London: n.p., 1695), 5.

43. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 84-89.

44. Ibid., 94. See also Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 251.

45. Ligon, op. cit., 40.

46. Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 54, p. 147.

47. Ligon, op. cit., 22.

48. Ibid., 96.

49. Lipson, op. cit., 135.

50. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 92. See also C.S.P.C. 1574-1660, pp. 427, 431-432, 446.

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52. C.S.P.C. 1574-1660, p. 434.

53. Ligon, op. cit., 92.

54. Pares, op. cit., 15.

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56. Higham, op. cit., 70-71.

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58. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 85.

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62. C.O. 318/1, p. 5. See also Higham, op. cit., 192; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 85.

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70. Baines, op. cit., 390.

71. Beer, Commercial Policy Toward the American Colonies, 62-65.

72. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 561.

73. Ibid., Nos. 1251, 1253.

74. Ibid., No. 1035.

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78. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 302, 309n.

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83. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1365.

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89. See Appendix note 8.

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92. Library Congress, British Trade MSS. 1662-1790, p. 55.

93. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 490.

94. Ibid., 472; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1244. See also Beer, Old Colonial System, Vol. I, Pt. I, 38-48; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1059.

95. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 520.

96. Pitmas, op. cit., 156-158. "The term Drawback, in the language of the Custom-house is applied to the tax repaid upon the exportation of raw sugar, and the word Bounty to the money which is paid upon exportation of what is refined, and exported in loaf unbroken." Edwards, op. cit., 552-553.

97. See Appendix note 6.

98. C.O. 1/43, p. 180.

99. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 812.

100. Ibid., 973. See also C.O. 29/2, p. 10.

101. C.O. 29/2, pp. 81-82; C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 136.

102. British Museum, Additional MSS. 8133, p. 237.

103. A.O. 3/305/1,2,3; C.O. 390/6, p. 51.

104. C.O.324/4, pp. 58-59, 79. See also C.O. 1/42, pp. 601, II; Barbour, op. cit., 263n.

105. C.O. 391/1, p. 240. See also C.O. 1/42, p. 60III.

106. Ibid.

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113. Morse, op. cit., 8-11.

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115. Morse, op. cit., 10-12.

116. Macpherson, op. cit., 108.

117. Ibid., 72.

118. Ibid., 108.

119. Gillespie, op. cit., 57-58.

120. C.O. 29/3, p. 79. See also C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 136; 1689-1692, No. 1034.

121. British Museum, Sloane MSS, 3662, p. 55.

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123. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 289n. See also C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1390; C.O. 33/13, pp. 3-14.

124. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2441, p. 20.

125. Ibid., 17-18.

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128. Bloom, op. cit., 157n.

129. Campbell, op. cit., 10.

130. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, Nos. 46, 642.

131. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 261. See also C. O. 138/5, pp. 80-81; C.O. 5/723 MD. p. 97; Poyer, op. cit., 120.

132. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 367.

133. Ibid., No. 1380.

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135. C.S.P.C. 1697-1698, No. 272. See also Pitman, op. cit., vii.

136. Lipson, op. cit., 91.

137. C.S.P.C. 1697-1698, No. 272.

138. C.O. 318/1, p. 5. See also C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, Nos. 155, 2401.

139. Deerr, op. cit., 193.

140. Edwards, op. cit., II, 597-600; cf., Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "B" 250 f. 64.

141. Gillespie, op. cit., 159; cf., Baker Library, State of the Revenue MSS. 92, V.1 1688-1710, pp. 1-45.

142. C.O. 1/42, pp. 601, II; C.O. 324/4, pp. 58-59.

143. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1679; 1669-1674, No. 1244; 1700, No. 981; British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 490, 638.

144. C.O. 33/13, pp. 18-20; C.O. 33/14, pp. 1-20.

145. C.O. 33/13, pp. 18-20; C.O. 390/6, p. 51; C.O. 324/4, pp. 58-59; C.O. 1/42, pp. 601, II; C.O. 318/1, pp. 8, 12. See also C.O. 33/14, pp. 1-20; Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "B" 250, f. 64.

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153. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 1970.

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155. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1365.

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157. C.O. 324/4, p. 41; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1824.

158. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 164. See also C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 1008, 1167.

159. Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, No. 642.

160. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, Nos. 520, 690. See also C.O. 391/1, p. 240.

161. C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, No. 266.

162. Aspinall, op. cit., 18.

163. Act of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, No. 952; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 960.

164. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, Nos. 581, 2; 1681-1685, No. 1045; 1685-1688, No. 1733.

165. C.S.P.C. 1696-1697, No. 1331.

166. Higham, op. cit., 192.

167. Deerr, op. cit., 233-234. See also C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1661.

168. Bloom, op. cit., 157n.

169. Higham, op. cit., 69.

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171. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, p. 86.

172. Ibid., No. 1739.

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176. Burns, op. cit., 730.

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178. C.O. 1/36, p. 39.

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191. Deerr, op. cit., 193.

192. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 3662, p. 59.

193. D'avenant, op. cit., V, 7.

194. C.S.P.C. 1574-1660, p. 434.

195. C.O. 391/1, p. 240.

196. T 1/1, p. 145.

197. See discussion on page 154.

198. C.S.P.C. 1700, No. 751. See also C.O. 29/1, p. 49.

199. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 44.

CHAPTER VI

LEEWARD ISLANDS

A. St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua

1. Founding

St. Christopher was the "mother island" of the West Indies with a combined area of 65.5 square miles, 41,920 acres, and is geographically located in the chain of islands which begin on the east end of Puerto Rico and continue in a southeast direction.[1] The island was colonized in 1623 by Captain Thomas Warner who hoped to plant tobacco, as that commodity was bringing a high price in England.[2] He, with a small number of men landed on the island in this year, planted and raised a crop of tobacco and returned to England. Warner realizing the fertility and adaptability of the soil to tobacco, took settlers back to St. Christopher in 1625. Simultaneously some Frenchmen landed on another section of the island, which ultimately resulted in St. Christopher being settled by both the French and English. The English held the land in the middle of the island and the French possessed land on either end.[3] The island remained both English and French, except on the occasions when war changed the status, until the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 ceded the island in its entirety to England.[4]

The island of Nevis has an area of 50 square miles, 32,000 acres, and being only three miles from St. Christopher, it was colonized by English settlers in 1628 from that island.[5]

Montserrat is an island with an area of 32.5 square miles, 20,800 acres, located 26 miles southwest of Antigua and approximately 50 miles southeast of St. Christopher. This island also was colonized by a party of English settlers in 1632 from St. Christopher.[6]

Antigua is another "island child" of St. Christopher, being settled in 1632 by people of that island, having an area of 108 square miles, and 69,120 acres.[7] The island was originally given the name of Santa Maria la Antigua by Columbus.[8] This group of islands was under the government of Barbados until 1671 at which time the Leeward Islands were organized under a separate government and Sir Charles Wheler became the first governor.[9]

2. Products and source of labor

The production of the Leeward Islands consisted of tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo,[10] with tobacco as the first staple crop.[11] Realizing that sugar was a profitable item, the Leeward Islands began converting their crops in 1650 to the production of that commodity.[12] Tobacco, however, continued to be an important secondary crop in the islands of Antigua and Montserrat throughout the Restoration period, although the growth of sugar was steadily increasing. The first use of sugar as payment for a fine in Montserrat was in 1668. After 1677, tobacco growth in Nevis was negligible, giving way to the sugar crop. The product also was grown in St. Christopher until after the Restoration, but ultimately was supplanted by sugar through the greater demand for that item.[13]

When the sugar prices were low in the 1670s and 1680s there was talk on the island of Nevis of changing the crop to indigo, for that product could be cut as much as five times per year. This plant was less

susceptible to damage by hurricanes than that of the sugar canes, but the change was never made, and indigo was "very seldom" produced on a large scale; sugar remained the primary crop of the islands.[14] The Leeward Islands had a certain amount of timber; Antigua being an example with Spanish ash, pines for masts, and white and red cedars, but not in quantities or qualities sufficient for the export industry.[15]

The source of labor of the planters in the Leeward Islands was the same as that of the other colonies on the Frontier, namely, white labor, and subsequently, the Negro slave. The planters upon settling St. Christopher enslaved a few Carib Indians, but this type of labor was unsatisfactory, for the Indians were poor laborers, and many died under such conditions.[16] The tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo did not require as much labor as did the production of sugar cane. Although slaves were the primary labor of the islands, the settlers depended upon the indentured servant for much of their labor, and throughout this period constant requests were being made for more servants to be sent to the islands. Of the more than 10,000 servants that emigrated from Bristol to the Frontier between 1654 and 1686, approximately 1,247 came to Nevis. This island was the mart for indentured servants, who were distributed to the other islands from this trade center.[17]

In 1671 the planters on St. Christopher would not allow Negroes to be brought into the island, but requested the King to send prisoners as they needed whites to defend the island.[18] Acts were passed in 1672 in Nevis and in October, 1679 in St. Christopher encouraging merchants to import men servants into the islands.[19] The planters of St. Christopher had been promised 300 malfactors in 1676, but by 1685 only 65 servants had arrived.[20]

The first slaves were provided to the Leeward Islands by the Dutch and they continued to take the "human livestock" to those islands until the chartering of the English company in 1660, which took control of furnishing the Frontier with this type of labor.[21] Not infrequently complaints were made that the English companies trading to Africa were not supplying the islands with sufficient labor. Further remarks were made concerning the poor type of slave, namely, refuse slaves being brought to the islands when such labor could not be sold in Barbados or Jamaica. Nevis was designated by the Royal African Company in 1672 as the slave mart of the Leeward Islands, and the slaves were delivered to this center where the Negores would be distributed to the other islands.[22] The Royal African Company between 1672 and 1686 shipped only one load of slaves direct to Antigua consisting of 210 Negroes.[23] The council of Montserrat reported in 1680 that due to the lack of Negroes the planters were compelled to plant some tobacco and indigo, and that indigo at that time was bringing a very small price. Similar complaints continued to be made during this period.[24]

3. Trade and shipping

The Leeward Islands developed slowly because of the small farmers rather than large sugar estates, and the small farmers were poor credit risks for the slave traders or merchants to loan supplies or slaves until a crop was harvested.[25] Thomas Warner, the intitial colonizer of St. Christopher, planted tobacco and that article continued to be the staple crop until sugar became more profitable. The amounts of tobacco as indicated were imported into England from St. Christopher:

Year	Amount Imported
1637	263,599 lbs.
1638	470,732 "
1639	107,312 "
1640	138,379 "[26]

Larger import duties in England were required on tobacco produced in the West Indies than that from Maryland and Virginia. England also was in a trade depression in the late 1650s; the price of tobacco was low and the West Indies began to produce smaller quantities of this commodity. The amount imported from St. Christopher in 1656 along with other commodities is as indicated:

Tobacco	58,578 lbs.
Sugar	2,444 "
Ginger	1,286 "
Indigo	550 "[27]

These figures indicate that tobacco was still the staple commodity in the island in this year. With the introduction of sugar into the island came the necessity for the planters to purchase more slaves in order to produce that product. However, the French taking the English portion of the island in 1666, retaining the plantations until 1671, with disputes still being carried on by the diplomats of the two crowns in 1675 concerning some of the plantations, resulted in a great loss of slaves and equipment along with retarding the progress of the island. More than 1,200 slaves were reported as not having been returned by the French to the planters,[28] which was a considerable loss as these laborers were being sold in the island at approximately £20 to £21 per head.[29] Governor Edmund Stapleton writing in September, 1672 concerning the Leeward Islands stated that "....The ordinary obstruction of the improvement

of trade are want of slaves, servants, /and/ horses....."[30] The number of slaves in the island in this year consisted of 904, in 1674 approximately 750, and by 1678 slaves were numbering 1,436.[31] Although some of the plantations were still being held by the French in 1674, the English portion of St. Christopher contained: 247 acres in indigo, 486 in sugar cane, 353 in provisions, with 47 indigo works, 24 sugar boiling houses, 87 coppers, and 126 mills for grinding the cane.[32] The sugar establishments on St. Christopher were producing considerable sugar and other products, but records indicate that only one ship traded to that island from London in 1677 with the majority trading with Nevis.[33] However, between March, 1684 and March, 1685 ships from England numbering forty-two traded with St. Christopher, with twenty-six from the continental colonies.[34] The number of slaves in the island had been increasing; thus, indicating more production, and resulting in a demand for more shipping.

Montserrat and all of the other West Indies Islands were carrying on a lucrative trade with the Dutch until about 1655 when the English Navy began forcing most of the Dutch trade from the English possessions. In 1654 a merchant of Amsterdam owed a merchant of Montserrat for 38,362 pounds of tobacco,[35] which further indicates that England had not as yet recaptured its trade from the Dutch.

The island of Montserrat, although being taken by the French in 1666,[36] was said to be well settled two years later and increasing in the production of the staple commodities. The island had approximately 20,000 acres of land but only half of it tillable because of the mountains.[37] Sugar and tobacco were noted as being mediums of exchange in this year, but the planters were utilizing all of the available acreage for the pro-

duction of the money products and not planting enough provisions for their own personal needs. The following year, legislation was passed requiring each land owner to produce a minimum amount of food provisions.[38] The number of slaves were increasing in the island denoting more production. In 1672 the combined planters owned 523 slaves,[39] while in 1678 the number had reached 992 such laborers.[40]

The best port of trade in the island was that of Briskett Bay with Plymouth and Kinsale being lesser places of trade.[41] Two ships were listed in 1677 as trading to Montserrat from the port of London.[42] The council of the island reported in 1680 that few ships traded with Montserrat direct, but that the major portion of sugar and indigo was transported to Nevis in sloops from which place the produce was exported.[43] However, between November, 1681 and July, 1682 thirty-five vessels from England and Ireland and nine from New England traded with Montserrat.[44] Thirty-three ships visited the island from England between July 14, 1683 to July 24, 1684 and transported the following commodities:

Pounds of sugar. . . .	200,170	
" " tobacco. . .	47,500	
" " indigo . . .	41,875	
" " cotton . . .	1,800	note 45

The large number of vessels visiting the island and the relatively small amount of commodities exported from Montserrat indicates that the ships visited all of the Leeward Islands in obtaining a cargo. Montserrat, however, had increased her sugar production by 1698 to more than 2,000,000 pounds annually.[46]

Antigua was frequently reported as having the best soil, and as more profitable to England than any of the Leeward Islands.[47] The planters in the early part of the period under discussion also were trading with the Dutch and subsequently continued to trade through smuggling. In

1655 an invoice indicated that 63,003 pounds of tobacco were exported to Holland from the island.[48] After this year, the British Navy began to force the Dutch from the trade as much as possible. The French took Antigua in 1666; however, the island along with Montserrat was recaptured by the English in 1667.[49] Antigua recuperated from the war and in 1671 Governor Wheler declared that the island abounded with tobacco, indigo, and cotton; and that the planters needed 4,000 slaves at that time.[50] In 1672 the planters owned 570 slaves[51] and by 1678 the number had increased to 2,172 Negroes.[52] The request for such a large number of slaves was indicative of the prosperity of the island.

After the Peace of Breda in 1667, the trade of the Leeward Islands began with a considerable smuggling traffic with the small Dutch island of Statia, which is only a short distance north of St. Christopher. This island became the depot for illegal trading and became one of the most flourishing centers of trade of the West Indies. The planters frequently took their commodities to the Dutch island at night. Tobacco in the amount of 400,000 pounds was imported into the island from Antigua in 1670. Montserrat also participated freely in this traffic.[53] Later in this decade Antigua was reported as being in a "fine thriving way."[54] Even with her trade with the Dutch at Statia, nine English vessels entered the port of London in 1677 from Antigua.[55] The island developed an independent trade from Nevis, and thus did not have to rely on her as did the other sister islands.[56] The trade of Antigua was continuing to flourish in 1680 according to the officials of the island,[57] and by 1688 Governor Nathaniel Johnson wrote that".... Antigua is more profitable to the King's revenue than all the rest of

the Leeward Islands, though only one-third of it is settled; and it will improve as the population increases...."[58] The island was producing more than 4,000,000 pounds of sugar in 1698 and by 1699, her production had reached 8,150,000 pounds.[59]

Nevis had more trade and traffic and more slaves throughout this period than her sister islands. She was the trading center of the Leeward Islands.[60] The planters of Nevis in 1656 exported 36,985 pounds of tobacco and 110,440 pounds of sugar to England.[61] The quantity of products being grown in the island was increasing in the 1660s, with reports of ships proceeding to London from Nevis.[62] The island had the good fortune of not being captured and overrun in the 1660s as were her sister islands, thereby being able to continue her production and not having her slaves, sugar factories, mills, and cane fields destroyed. Nevis, too, was exerting all of her energy in producing the money crop and not planting food; consequently, legislation was passed in February, 1671/2 requiring each land owner to grow a certain quantity of provisions.[63]

The number of slaves in the island increased from 1,739 in 1672 to 3,860 six years later.[64] While in 1672 Nevis was designated as the slave mart of the Leeward Islands by the Royal African Company, the officials of the organization agreed that Negroes would be supplied to the planters at £16 per head by contract if the orders were placed in London before delivery. However, very few slaves were ever sold in the islands for that price, for in order to get the slaves at £16 per head, the purchaser had to contract to buy an entire shipload. Not many planters ever needed this many slaves at one time.[65] Only on four occasions between 1674 and 1686 did the company sell slaves in

the islands by contract.[66] The number of slaves supplied to the island was making possible for the planters of Nevis to produce considerable quantities of the staple products and the following commodities were exported from Nevis from 1677 to 1687:

Year and Commodity	To England	To Plant	Total
29-9-77 to 16-5-78			
No. ships	37	8	45
Sugar, lbs.	3,011,500	460,500	3,472,000
Ginger, bags	24	---	24
Indigo, casks	16	---	16
Dying woods, sticks	152	---	152
Tobacco, lbs.	5,000	---	5,000
29-8-83 to 25-8-84			
No. ships	41	22	63
Sugar, lbs.	4,323,000	385,000	4,708,000
4-11-85 to 4-9-86			
No. ships	40	18	58
Sugar, lbs.	4,108,000	206,000	4,314,000
Cotton, bags	5	50	55
Rum, hogsheads	---	31	31
tierces	---	2	2
barrils	---	22	22
Indigo, barrils	32	---	32
Hides	---	12	12
Cocoa, lbs.	---	100	100
Molasses, hogsheads	61	511	572
tierces	---	31	31
barrils	2	22	24
20-9-86 to 6-7-87			
No. ships	32	14	46
Sugar, lbs.	4,268,000	86,000	4,354,000
Cotton, bags	6	22	28
Indigo, barrils	32	1	33
Molasses, tons	---	72	72 note 67

Sugar to the amount of 5,904,000 pounds were being produced in Nevis in 1699 with the quantity increasing in the eighteenth century,[68]

The planters of the Leeward Islands were utilizing most of their land for the money crops and were purchasing most of their provisions from the continental colonies. Nevis and St. Christopher combined, in

1678 exported more than 300,000 pounds of sugar along with cotton, indigo, and ginger[69] to the continental colonies in exchange for provisions, staves, hoops, horses, and lumber.[70] Beef, butter, and other provisions also were being imported into the islands from England and Ireland.[71]

The Leeward Islands were reported in 1676 as importing approximately £50,000 per year of manufactured goods from England and exporting approximately 7,200,000 pounds of sugar in addition to other commodities to the mother country.[72] The wealth of these English possessions in 1676 were estimated:

St. Christopher	£ 67,000
Antigua.	67,000
Montserrat.	62,500
Nevis.	384,660
Total. . . .	£581,160 note 73

Another source estimated the "capital stock" of the islands at £1,000,000.[74]

The combined Leeward Islands in 1671 were employing approximately forty English ships per year mostly from Bristol with a few from London, Plymouth, and Liverpool.[75] The islands a year later were estimated as employing 100 ships from Europe and New England with the majority being under 100 tons.[76] Petitioners declared back in 1665 that the islands were loading 100 ships per year in addition to 24 sloops.[77] Further petitioners declared in 1673 that 100 ships were loaded for England from Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, and St. Christopher.[78] Regardless of the many estimations, statistics relate that from December 25, 1687 to December 25, 1688 thirty-five vessels in this year traded to the Leeward Islands,[79] with as many as forty-one visiting the islands in previous years. As 1687 and 1688 were excellent / years of trade, the Leeward Islands were probably employing about forty vessels annually in

these years.[80] As approximately half of the commodities of the West Indies were being re-exported upon being landed in England, the Leeward Islands employed an additional number of ships in redistributing the products. The islands by 1714 were employing 199 English vessels yearly.[81]

B. Factors Affecting Trade

1. War and pirates

The Frontier colonies were not greatly affected by the First Dutch War,[82] but this statement could not be said of the Second and Third Dutch Wars. The Dutch fleet in April, 1665 took sixteen ships from Nevis and Montserrat,[83] and in the ensuing years, the French took St. Christopher in April, 1666, and Montserrat and Antigua in early 1667.[84] Only Berry's squadron saved Nevis from being overrun at the same time.[85] Montserrat and Antigua were retaken within a short time, but St. Christopher, which was supposed to have reverted to the English in 1667, according to the terms of the Peace of Breda, was not returned until 1671. In 1675 approximately 100 persons had not received their plantations back from the French.[86] Captain John Poyntz declared that a great amount of damage had been done in this war to Barbados, Montserrat, Nevis, Antigua, and St. Christopher and that the English had lost 310 ships.[87] More than £400,000 was the estimated damage to crops, slaves, and other property of the Leeward Islands.[88] The French took houses, timber, woods, Negroes, coppers, and horses from the English section of St. Christopher prior to turning the land back to the planters.[89] Many planters left the island for other Frontier colonies and never returned, which resulted in a re-

duction in the production and trade.[90] The war culminating with the Treaty of Breda in 1667 had disasterous effects on all the West Indies leaving Antigua, Montserrat, and St. Christopher with their fields ravaged, burned, and destroyed while Nevis was overcrowded with soldiers and refugees. St. Christopher, however, suffered most and had great difficulty in obtaining food as she was constantly blockaged.[91] The wars on land and sea together with the pirates and privateers preying on shipping greatly hampered trade and communications.[92] Only people who have actually experienced war can realize the profound effect that it has on every phase of life.

Piracy was another obstacle that confronted the shipping of the Leeward Islands. The Spanish pirates along with other marauders of the sea were taking sloops and ships operating in and out of the island.[93] Sir William Stapleton, of the Leeward Islands, writing to the Lords of Trade in January, 1684 declared "....there is no safe trading to or from these parts until that receptacle of thieves and sea-robbers be reduced or that Governors hanged who so openly protects them....."[94] Shipping to the Frontier was never safe until the pirates were eventually forced from the sealanes of the Atlantic.

2. Indians and hurricanes

Antigua and Montserrat were the most exposed to the Indians. After the Treaty of Breda and the treaty which Henry Willoughby made with the Caribs on the island of St. Vincent, by which terms the Indians agreed to be English subjects, the Indians continued to commit murder on Antigua. Governor Stapleton estimated in 1668 that approximately 1,500 Indians were on the three islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica enforced by about 600 runaway slaves. In December,

1674 the Indians of Dominica raided Antigua. The Carib Indians loathed the English because of the ill-treatment of their people and because of the English enticing some of them aboard and selling them as slaves. The Leeward Islands continued to be threatened by the Caribs and such danger from the Indians was not relieved until 1796 when 5,000 such persons were deported from St. Vincent to Ruatan Island.[95] The island was further harassed by approximately forty to fifty runaway Negroes who were armed with guns in the mountains in Antigua in 1687, frequently preying on plantations and forcing the planters on the island to stand guard as well as work their crops.[96]

The hurricanes were always a great threat to the planters of the West Indies and continue to be a menace to crops and property as well as shipping in our present day. In 1642 twenty-three ships were destroyed along with many houses by a hurricane at St. Christopher; the damage to crops was equally devastating. Francis Willoughby was lost and fifteen ships of the British fleet were destroyed by a hurricane in 1666 off the coast of Guadaloupe. The following year St. Christopher was again devastated by a hurricane. A very destructive hurricane struck Antigua in 1681.[97] These cited illustrations indicate the possible damage that a hurricane can do. During the period under study, the planters had no radios or weather stations whereby they could be warned in advance of a hurricane. Many ships were lost due to storms and hurricanes both enroute to and returning from the West Indies, especially in the winter months and during the hurricane season, causing great losses and hardships to the planter, merchant, and shipowner.[98]

C. Effects of the Founding and Settlement of these Colonies on English Shipping

1. Production

The commodity, the amount of production, and export and trade determined the value and wealth of a Frontier colony to the mother country. The Leeward Islands in the middle of the seventeenth century were of little value to England, for the staple product was tobacco of which Virginia and Maryland were supplying more than the home market could consume.[99] The introduction of sugar into the islands raised the potential value of these possessions. However, the importance of the islands as a source of wealth in the 1650s was insignificant. St. Christopher in 1656 exported over 58,000 pounds of tobacco and little in excess of 2,000 pounds of sugar. Nevis for the same year exported in excess of 36,000 pounds of tobacco and 110,000 pounds of sugar.[100] These colonies without doubt produced considerably more than the quantities cited, but such production was on such a small scale that the effect on England was not noticeable. However, by 1676 the Leeward Islands were exporting approximately 7,200,000 pounds of sugar to England along with other minor products.[101] These figures were greatly increased in the eighteenth century.[102] The islands needed labor to produce this valuable product, and between 1674 and 1686 the Royal African Company in 45 vessels imported 7,725 slaves into the islands, averaging about 4 ships per year and 594 slaves.[103] The Leeward Islands were in their "infancy" in sugar production during this period of study.

2. Shipping

The amount of shipping to an area is partially determined by the

commodities and by the degree of demand of the products. When Thomas Warner first grew a crop of tobacco on St. Christopher, the "seed of shipping" of the Leeward Islands was founded. The number of ships traveling the sea lanes of the Atlantic to those islands were few in the beginning, but slowly increased with the production of the staple commodities and the increased demand of the people of England and Europe for those items. Approximately forty English ships were proceeding annually to the Leeward Islands by 1688 to purchase the produce of the planters,[104] and by 1714 ships to the number of 199 were departing from England enroute to the islands,[105] for sugar, the "king of the West Indies." The founding, production, and growth of the Leeward Islands were definitely instrumental in expanding the shipping of England.

NOTES

CHAPTER VI

1. Pitman, op. cit., 1.

2. Higham, op. cit., 1.

3. Carrington, op. cit., 32-33. See also British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 9.

4. A Dictionary of British History, ed., J. A. Brendon (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1937), 472. See also Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 295 "Report on the Leeward Islands," f. 45.

5. A Dictionary of British History, 376; C.S.P.C. 1696-1697, No. 200.

6. Ibid., 365.

7. Aspinall, op. cit., 7-8, 38.

8. Burns, op. cit., 703.

9. C.O. 318/2, p. 1. See also Higham, op. cit., 76.

10. Pares, op. cit., 24.

11. Higham, op. cit., 184.

12. Pares, op. cit., 15-24.

13. Higham, op. cit., 185.

14. Pares, op. cit., 15. See also C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, No. 2757.

15. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 1152.

16. Higham, op. cit., 143.

17. Abbot E. Smith, op. cit., 309; C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1442. See Appendix note 3 for the number of servants arriving in Nevis annually.

18. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 680.

19. C.O. 154/2, pp. 23-24, 103; C.O. 154/4, pp. 36-37.

20. Higham, op. cit., 170-174. See also Acts of the Privy Council, 1680-1720, No. 153; C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, Nos. 147, 800; C.O. 324/4, p. 83. Later in 1685 about 100 rebels were shipped to Nevis and St. Christopher. C.S.P.C 1685-1688, Nos. 422, 441.

21. Ibid., 143.

22. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 896; 1677-1680, Nos. 1441, 1442. See also Higham, op. cit., 150.

23. Higham, op. cit., 150-152.

24. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1442.

25. C. O. 318/1, p. 5.

26. British Museum, Additional MSS. 35865, f. 248.

27. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 75.

28. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1201; C.O. 1/36, p. 1; C. O. 391/1, pp. 29, 41.

29. Higham, op. cit., 61.

30. C. O. 1/29, p. 25.

31. Higham, op. cit., 145. See also C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1201; cf., C. O. 318/2, p. 5; C. O. 1/42, p. 98.

32. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1201.

33. C. O. 1/42, p. 601. See also C. O. 324/4, pp. 58-59.

34. C. O. 157/1; C. O. 1/49, p. 8.

35. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 56-57.

36. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 520.

37. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1901; 1675-1676, No. 1152; cf. Pitman, op. cit., 1.

38. C. O. 154/1, pp. 20-21, 81.

39. C. O. 318/2, p. 5; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 896.

40. C.O. 1/42, p. 98.

41. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 861.

42. C. O. 324/4, p. 58.

43. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1442.

44. C.O. 157/1; C. O. 1/49, p. 8.

45. C. O. 390/6, p. 117.

46. Deerr, op. cit., I, 196.

47. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1788, 1901; 1669-1674, No. 680; 1685-1688, No. 1653.

48. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, pp. 58-59.

49. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 520.

50. Ibid., No. 680.

51. C. O. 318/2, p. 5.

52. C. O. 1/42, p. 98; C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 741.

53. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 553.

54. C.O. 1/42, p. 80. See also C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 861.

55. C.O. 342/4, p. 58. See also C. O. 1/42, pp. 601, II.

56. Higham, op. cit., 206.

57. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 628.

58. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 1653.

59. Deerr, op. cit., I, 195.

60. C.O. 318/2, p. 5; C. O. 1/42, p. 98; C. O. 390/6, p. 87.

61. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, pp. 80-82.

62. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1270.

63. C. O. 154/2, p. 162.

64. Higham, op. cit., 145. See also C.O. 318/2, p. 5; C. O. 1/42, p. 98; C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 1623.

65. Higham, op. cit., 150.

66. Ibid., 161.

67. C.O. 390/6, pp. 87-88. See also C.O. 1/42; C. O. 157/1.

68. Deerr, op. cit., I, 194.

69. C.O. 1/43, p. 180; British Museum, Additional MSS. 8133, p. 237.

70. Baines, op. cit., 390; C.O. 142/13. See also C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 1067, 1152; A.O. 3/305/1, 3.

71. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 680.

72. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 1152.

73. Ibid.

74. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 295, f. 57; C.O. 1/42, p. 80.

75. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 680.

76. Ibid., No. 1257.

77. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 528.

78. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1257. See also C.O. 1/29, p. 25; C.S.P.C. 1669-1675, No. 896.

79. C.O. 318/1, p. 9.

80. C.O. 390/6, pp. 87-88.

81. Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, V, 615.

82. Carrington, op. cit., 45.

83. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 992.

84. Burns, op. cit., 305-311. See also C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 520, 1201.

85. Higham, op. cit., 51.

86. C.O. 1/42, p. 79; C.O. 391/1, pp. 29, 41. See also C.O. 1/36, p. 1; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 131, 1201.

87. C.S.P.C. 1699, No. 973.

88. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 638.

89. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 131.

90. Ibid., No. 292; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1456.

91. Higham, op. cit., 56-57; C.O. 1/42, p. 79. See also C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1692.

92. Ibid., 40.

93. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 475; 1681-1685, Nos. 307, 1630, 1634, 1681, 1684, 1722; 1689-1692, No. 83; C.O. 138/6, p. 37.

94. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 1504.

95. Higham, op. cit., 125-142. See also C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 1645.

96. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 1175.

97. Burns, op. cit., 730. See also British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 619.

98. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 1390, 1394. See also Webb, op. cit., 213.

99. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, pp. 75, 80-82.

100. Ibid.

101. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 1152.

102. Deerr, op. cit., I, 194-196.

103. Higham, op. cit., 154. See also Appendix note 3.

104. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 680.

105. Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, V, 615.

CHAPTER VII

THE ISLAND OF CONQUEST

A. Jamaica

1. Founding

Jamaica was settled by the Spaniards about 1509 with undesirables such as vagabonds, criminals and similar useless persons.[1] The island was called Xaymaca by the aborigines, meaning island of springs, while the Spanish gave it the name of Santiago. Jamaica is 148 miles in length with an area of approximately 4,411 square miles, 2,823,040 acres; the rainfall is about sixty-three inches per year; and as indicated by the aborigines, the island has many springs and rivers.[2] Under Cromwell's "Western Design," the English landed on the island on May 10, 1655 with little resistance,[3] for the people on the island consisted of only about 3,000 inhabitants, approximately half of whom were slaves.[4] The Spaniards living there either stealthily departed or were driven out, while a few along with many slaves retreated to the mountains. The soldiers arriving in the island by September numbered 8,000 and became the main inhabitants; the island remained under military rule until February, 1660, when Colonel Edward D'Olyley was appointed the first governor.[5] The soldiers within the first few weeks of taking the island killed about 20,000 head of wild cattle as sport, thereby causing shortage of food. The soldiers destroyed everything possible in hopes that if food were not available, the army would

be sent home.[6]

The committee for the plantation in October, 1657 informed Cromwell and the Privy Council that in order to keep Jamaica, more servants and people would have to be sent to the island. Approximately fourteen ships of the Navy were being kept at Jamaica in 1657 and 1658 for protection against attack from the Spanish. In March, 1660 and int the summer of that year, the English were still expecting an attack by the Spanish.[7] Spain did not recognize the right of England to possess Jamaica until July 8, 1670 with the signing of the Treaty of Madrid.[8]

2. Products and sources of labor

The products of Jamaica at the time of capture in 1655 were few and limited, other than those growing wild and in their native habitat. The island was thinly populated and the only exports were small quantities of cocoa, hog's lard, and hides along with few provisions bartered with ships that occasionally came to the island.[9] The Spaniards were slaughtering approximately 80,000 hogs annually for grease and lard prior to the coming of the English.[10] The island also was used by the Spanish as a supply station for the "homeward bound merchant ships."[11]

Jamaica had an "undestroyable" quantity of red wood, brazilletto, fustic, lignum vitae, ebony, cedars, in addition to pimento and tropical fruits.[12] The Spaniards cultivated small quantities of sugar, indigo, and tobacco, but sugar was raised only for consumption in the island and was never exported, and little if any indigo or tobacco.[13] The Spanish on the island were lazy and scarcely produced more products and provisions than were necessary for a mere existence.[14]

Cromwell made an appeal in March, 1656 to the people of New England and the other colonies to move to Jamaica and share in the great store of wealth in land, horses, cattle, and other animals both wild and tame.[15] In this year, the governor of Nevis along with 1,300 persons migrated to Jamaica.[16] The capture of the island also resulted in a number of planters immigrating from Barbados, and 700 more came from that island in 1664 when the caterpillars destroyed much of the sugar crop.[17] Jamaica was populated mainly from the other colonies, and by 1658 about 4,500 whites and 1,500 slaves were in the island.[18] However, people were coming from England to Jamaica, but not always the best citizens. Oliver Cromwell projected the idea about 1656 of "weeding of this Commonwealth of Vagabonds, condemned Persons and such who are heere useless and hurtfull in Warr and peace" and sent them to Jamaica.[19] The sending of the undesirables to Jamaica had a three fold purpose: (1) that of supplying servants and laborers to the colony, (2) the relieving of the Commonwealth of taking care of and dealing with such undesirables, and (3) the transporting would provide employment for more shipping.[20] Permission was granted in June, 1661 to take the prisoners of seven jails in and around London and ship them to the island. Among these men were those that were condemned to death.[21] Indentured servants were coming from Bristol also, for between 1654 and 1686 large numbers were sent to the Frontier, but only 460 of possibly 10,000 were shipped to Jamaica.[22] Cromwell's main objective was to get people to the island who would help defend the possession against the Spanish. The planters, at the same time, were obtaining laborers as well as facilitating to populate the largest British island in the West Indies. The proprietors were always requesting

more servants with which to work the land as well as to keep a certain ratio of whites to blacks.[23] In 1679 urgent requests were being made for white men as a scarcity of such individuals existed in Jamaica, for not one-fifth of the number of whites were on the island as required by law; that is, one white to every ten slaves. Only about 4,000 whites were on the island as compared to 50,000 Negroes.[24] Although the planters were making complaints of a labor shortage, the servant and slave population increased; and the island became very profitable to England in this period with a greatly expanded flow of customs into the English treasury in the eighteenth century.

3. Trade and shipping

The foundation of the British Empire was laid in the West Indies; the waters were breeding grounds for the English sailors; and much blood was lost in settling, expanding, and retaining those possessions which were to be so instrumental in helping to make England a great and powerful nation.[25] The Western Design and the capture of Jamaica made the people of England realize more so than ever before the importance of the American Frontier. Colonization in the past had been more of a private enterprize, but after 1655 the government began to take more interest in her Frontier possessions, and attempt to establish a form of administration in the colonies.[26]

Government officials realized that Cromwell was not spending as much time in dealing with the Frontier as he should and a contemporary wrote him declaring that

> As the present Futere of the English in America and the probabilities of greater extension bee so many fold and considerable as they appear to be to all the World; then surely they deserve as much of his Highness Indulgence and application as any Prince and or State.....[27]

The trading possibilities of the West Indies were so ostensible that Francis Willoughby, Thomas Povey, and others decided to form a West India Company with a subscription of £12,000 and send the first settlers to Jamaica. The company was finally incorporated in 1659 under the name of "The Merchants of England Trading to America."[28] The importance and future of the Frontier was further indicated when Parliament granted the charter to "The Merchants of England Trading to America," for the agreement read,

> ....a very great Trade and Comerce is now daily carried on betweene England and those Colonies and Plantations, Which if further encouraged may yet (by the blessing of Almighty God) bee much more advanced and increase the Honour and Interest of this Commonwealth not only in the severall Colonies already setled in these Partes and in the late Conquest and Plantation of the Island of Jamaica ....But a further Trade and Comerce may be carried on, and universally introduced and established in all other the Parte of America and in those places by Englishmen hither to either not discovered, or not usually frequented, sayled or Traffiqued unto.[29]

The conditions of Jamaica at the time of capture in 1655 were deplorable and the island was in a poor state. There was little cultivation and the remainder of the land was in forest and pasture inhabited with wild cattle and horses. Only a small area on the southern side of the island was inhabited, and the Spanish being a lazy people, were doing little or nothing to improve and advance the production or value of the island.[30] The conditions of the island in 1655 made some contemporaries value it very little, but more energetic and farsighted individuals realized that the island was in the center of the Spanish West Indies and would be very advantageous to England in case of war against Spain. The merchants of England also knew that the settling of Jamaica would mean the increase of shipping, a greater outlet for manufactured

goods, and the securing of gold and silver in trading with the Spanish.[31] The English did retain the island and it became a prize possession of the Crown.

The people of England and Europe began demanding more sugar, cocoa, pepper, cotton, and dyewoods which Jamaica either had available for immediate harvest or had the necessary climate and soil to produce.[32] The English, however, did not begin planting sugar cane until 1660,[33] but by 1662 eighteen sugar works had been established on the island, with the largest making 20,000 pounds to 30,000 pounds of sugar per week during the harvesting period of the cane. The Jamaican sugar was of better quality than that of Barbados and was bringing a reportedly 50 per cent higher price.[34]

Jamaica had a population in 1658 of 4,500 whites and 1,400 Negroes[35] and within three years, more than 2,500 acres of land were being cultivated,[36] Sir Thomas Modyford became governor in 1664, and began to instruct the planters in the methods of producing and managing sugar plantations, for he had had experience in Barbados. From this year, the quantity of sugar produced in the island began to increase. However, very little progress was made in Jamaica in the planting, producing, and exporting of this commodity until about 1665.[37]

Cocoa was another product that the English, after taking the island in 1655, had great hopes of becoming a very profitable export commodity. In 1660 approximately 21,000 pounds of nuts were exported[38] to England, and in 1668 about 188,000 pounds were estimated to be exported.[39] However, by 1671 all of the trees were dying not only in Jamaica, but in Cuba, and San Domingo.[40] Continuous attempts and hopes of producing the commodity in Jamaica were in vain, for the cut

worm spelled the doom of the cocoa production. Small quantities of nuts continued to be produced but were insignificant as to trade.[41]

The main crop in Jamaica in 1661 was sugar[42] with other commodities being cotton, tobacco, indigo, along with the valuable woods among which were the dyeing variety.[43] Jamaica was a fertile island with an ideal climate and a large rainfall under which conditions the sugar cane thrives. The island was truly a great frontier of wealth and opportunities, for land was plentiful and all that was needed were people and laborers to till and work the soil, and harvest the rich proceeds. In March, 1661/2 Jamaica was spoken of as "our frontier Plantation in America."[44] However, the greatest problem of the Jamaican planter was the securing of a sufficient supply of labor. Governor Modyford stated that the Dutch war of 1664 obstructed the progress of the island, but that the lack of slaves had been a greater factor in the progress of Jamaica.[45] The slave was "the life of the Plantations," and more of these laborers were required in Jamaica, as the island was much larger and had more available land for cultivation.[46] Slaves and labor were so scarce in 1664 that some of the planters burned their cane fields for lack of labor to harvest the crop.[47]

Although a labor shortage existed in Jamaica, the population had grown to 7,700 whites and 9,598 Negroes by 1665,[48] and Sir Charles Lyttelton reported that

> ....Like all new settlements this is daily changing, and those who knew it two years ago may be strangers to the state of affairs now, provisions and all sorts of commodities having infinitely increased.....[49]

Merchants, traders, and other individuals interested in Jamaica were frequently stating the many possibilities of that island. John Style in

1665 wrote that Jamaica was "....so good and so profitable that he would resolve to end his days there had he not many engagements in England." Style further declared that an investment of £500 would result in a return of £1,000 annually.[50]

Indigo was another secondary export of Jamaica, and derived its name from the original habitat of India where it was first used in dyeing cloth. The plant grew abundantly in the West Indies. Columbus found this plant in all parts of St. Domingo. However, the people of the West Indies who attempted cultivation and curing of indigo were never successful because of the lack of ability to cure it properly.[51] More indigo was produced in Jamaica than in any other colony because of the particular type of soil being more favorable to the plant.[52] The production increased and Jamaica was exporting by 1688 more than 100,000 pounds of indigo annually. The commodity was imported from the colonies from September 29, 1688 to September 29, 1689 as indicated:

Jamaica.	132,704	pounds
Montserrat.	19,216	"
Nevis.	5,954	"
Antigua.	206	"
St. Christopher. . .	785	"
Barbados.	212	"
New England. . . .	422	"
Total.	159,499	pounds[53]

The total imports of indigo into England in this year amounted to 206,233 pounds.[54] The production of this commodity in Jamaica continued to increase and by 1690 indigo in the value of £50,000 was being imported into England from the colonies.[55]

Africa was the main source of the cloth dyes of England prior to the peopling and founding of the West Indies in the sixteenth century. Red was one of the colors most in demand, and this dye could be extracted from logwood, Brazil, or Braziletta wood, and Campeache wood.

Much of the timber was found along the shores of Yucatan, but these materials also were plentiful in many of the West Indian Islands.[56] The English of Jamaica in 1662 began sailing to the Bay of Campeache and cutting logwood and exporting it to England.[57] Approximately 300 people of Jamaica were cutting wood in the Yucatan by 1672 and the trade was employing 30-40 sail, averaging about 37 tons each, from Port Royal.[58] After this date, every vessel loaded with wood and encountered by the Spanish was taken, and in 1680 the Spaniards drove the English completely from the Yucatan, but within six months, the wood-cutters returned. Finally in 1763 the English secured the right to cut logwood both in Campeache and Honduras.[59] Logwood to the amount of 1,000 tons per year was being imported into England with almost all coming from Jamaica at £15 per ton; whereas when previously bought from the Spaniards, the cost was £100 per ton.[60] The increased production of cloth in England demanded more dye, resulting in the logwood of Jamaica becoming a considerable item of export.

Jamaica was beginning to expand more rapidly in the late 1660s and early 1670s. From January 1, 1668 to January 1, 1670 about 208 ships ranging from 3 tons to 180 tons traded with Jamaica, which was an average of about 100 vessels annually.[61] The island had a total of 70 sugar plantations and 47 sugar works in 1670 which produced 1,710,000 pounds of sugar; 49 indigo works, which "may produce 49,000 pounds of indigo per annum."[62] The production of Jamaica was just in its infancy in 1670, for only about 1 acre of every 200 acres on the island was in cultivation;[63] although 209,020½ acres of land had been granted. The population, however, had increased to 15,198 and more land was annually being reclaimed.[64] Jamaica was so much larger than any

other West Indian possession and had so many more products that the potential wealth of the island was even greater than the other islands combined. A gentleman of forethought realized the amount of wealth of Jamaica in 1670 when he said:

> ....if sugar has raised our plantations to far greater value than most plantations in the world....and if Barbados has risen to be so rich by sugar alone, where land is dear and cattle, provisions, and wood scarce, what may Jamaica arrive to, where all there are in plenty. To which, if the quantity of pepper, spice, drugs, and commodities for dyeing and joiners' use be added, it is very evident that if well planted it might yield more wealth than all our plantations.[65]

The English traders navigated twenty ships to Jamaica in 1670 and loaded them with sugar, cocoa nuts, indigo, cotton-wool, fustic, tortoise shells, hides, tobacco, and ginger,[66] and by 1672 the exports to England were estimated as resulting in £15,000 customs.[67]

No slaves had been brought into the island between 1665 and 1670 but in this year 111 were imported; in 1671 the number increased to 1,640; and in 1672 another 1,146 were transported to Jamaica.[68] The more slaves and servants brought into the island meant more acres of land could be put into cultivation with an increase in exportation and trade. Thomas Lynch in March, 1672 reported Jamaica as "....more flourishing than ever and like to make abundance of good sugars and some indigo, but no cocoa....."[69] He further stated that slaves were in great demand and the trade had improved considerably over that of 1671.[70] The planters of Jamaica in the following year produced an excellent crop with the quantity being four times that of any previous year. In April, 1673 ten or twelve ships were in the harbor and could load only about one-third of the commodities to be shipped.[71]

The planters and merchants of Jamaica by 1675 were producing and exporting considerable quantities of sugar, ginger, cotton, fustic,

indigo, pimento, tobacco, china roots, cocoa, and "many dying woods."[72] The planters also had established 70 sugar works on the island which were producing from 100,000 pounds to 200,000 pounds of sugar annually, with approximately 40 more works in the process of being established.[73] Small planters who could not financially carry on the production of sugar were planting cotton, of which a portion was sold to the New England and other Frontier ships trading to the island.[74] Approximately 2,240,000 pounds of cotton were imported into England from the West Indies in 1690 at about one-sixth the cost that she had paid when importing the commodity from foreign countries.[75] A good portion of this commodity was being imported from Jamaica, for 1,776,500 pounds were exported to England between 1670 and 1688, and the production had reached such a quantity that the lieutenant governor requested permission to establish a cotton manufacturing works on the island; the request was not granted because of the mercantile policy of England. The small planter continued to produce cotton and even a greater demand for the product existed in England in the eighteenth century.[76]

More land was constantly being put into cultivation in the 1670s, and about 500 servants had come to the island within the first few years of the decade making possible the further reclamation of land.[77] Also in this year 3,234 slaves[78] were imported into the island and two years later the governor declared that the island needed 3,000 slaves annually to fulfill the demands of labor.[79] The produce of this labor in 1675 was employing 173 vessels annually from England, New England, New York, Virginia and the West Indies.[80] Two years later thirty-five ships entered the port of London alone from Jamaica for the year ending September 29, 1677, and twenty-seven vessels cleared that port in the same period enroute to

Jamaica.[81] In 1678 forty-seven ships loaded commodities in Port Royal, Jamaica, for England and approximately eighty sail were employed in coastal trade and traffic with the Spaniards.[82] The products employing the shipping of Jamaica and the exports of the island between June 25, 1671 to March 25, 1679 consisted of:

Sugar	17,107,440 lbs.
Cocoa	99,240 "
Indigo	633,200 "
Ginger	396,480 "
Fustic	2,537 tons
Logwood	5,119 "
Tobacco	98,000 lbs.
Pimento	290,160 "
Hides	38,587 "
Cotton	259,800 lbs.[83]

The average export of sugar for these eight years amounted to approximately 2,138,430 pounds per year. In this period a great quantity of labor was flowing into the island in the form of slaves numbering 11,816 along with 5,396 white people.[84] The slaves and population were increasing along with the expanding production and shipping. These conditions were requiring the importation from England of coppers, stills, millcases, ladles, skimmers, lamps, and innumerable other articles in addition to nails, locks, staples, hinges, bolts, bars, and lead with which to build barns, sheds and similar buildings. The majority of the other necessities as fish, hoops, and food provisions were imported from the continental colonies.[85]

The trade of Jamaica in 1679 was "daily increasing" and the customs flowing into the treasury of England from the importation of the commodities of Jamaica were advancing annually.[86] The planters in 1680 were wanting needing 3,000 slaves to 4,000 slaves yearly to supply their labor need,[87] and in this year, the Royal African Company agreed to furnish the planters of Jamaica 3,000 slaves annually at £18 per head. In 1683 the company

was endeavoring to void the contract, declaring that slaves in Africa had increased in price from one-third to one-half because of interlopers. However, the King ordered the company to fulfill their agreement.[88] The island was prospering to such a degree by 1682 that slaves were being bought for ready money by the planters; whereas, in the past the company was having to allow the planters six months credit. Planters in this year had gone to the slave ships and some had walked away with money in their pocket without slaves because an insufficient number of Negroes were being imported to meet the demand.[89] Sir Thomas Lynch requested the company in 1683, and again in 1684, to supply the island with 5,000 slaves in the respective years and 3,000 per year thereafter in order to keep the planters sufficiently supplied with Negroes to harvest their crops and expand production.[90] Each slave on the plantations in the West Indies was estimated to produce from ten shillings to fifteen shillings per year in customs for the Crown.[91]

The export of all commodities of Jamaica had increased considerably in the 1680s in comparison to the previous decade. The trade of the island by 1684 had increased beyond all expectations and was employing more shipping and was more prosperous than in any previous time.[92] The amount of sugar exported from Jamaica in English ships between 1680 and 1688 along with the number of vessels employed both in transporting that commodity and the numerous other products of the island are as indicated:

Year	Number of Pounds	Number of Ships
1680	15,860,000	30
1681	9,325,120	26
1682	23,645,440	40
1683	21,958,720	61
1688	34,446,080	67

(Continued)

Year	Number of Pounds	Number of Ships
1687	24,865,040	48
1688	26,909,600	56 note 93
1697	32,641,280	97 note 94
1714	---------	162 note 95

The above figures denote that large quantities of other products were being shipped from Jamaica, for the number of ships do not always vary proportionally with the rise and decline of the amount of sugar exported. A greater demand was being made for pimento, drugs, spices, logwood and the various other export items.[96]

The exports of the island were increasing and so were the imports, for the growing population of Jamaica was demanding more finished products from England in the form of plows, utensils for sugar works, tar, cordage, beef, guns, gunpowder, light weight cloth materials, and similar necessities of life.[97] The planters were importing manufactured goods from England by 1697 in the amount of £120,744, with the imports further increasing in the eighteenth century.[98]

Jamaica was thriving by the close of this period with more than 150 vessels of all types and sizes trading to the island,[99] and of this number approximately 65 ships of England were employed in transporting the goods to England from whence the commodities were distributed throughout Europe.[100] Additional ships were utilized in redistributing the products of Jamaica from England to various parts of Europe, further enhancing the shipping of the mother country.

Jamaica in the eighteenth century became the largest and most important possession of England in the West Indies as well as the center of trade for the Spanish possessions.[101] A small insignificant slave trade between the English and Spanish in the West Indies existed during

the period of study, resulting in small quantities of gold and silver being exported to England. The constant tension between the two peoples was probably the greatest obstacle in preventing a lucrative trade [illegible] in the Caribbean possessions.[102]

B. Factors Affecting Trade

1. War and piracy

In the seventeenth century, Europe was without war for only eight years. England had two revolutions and was involved in nine foreign wars during the century.[103] She and the colonies, during this period of study, were almost constantly involved in war and dissension affecting both the colonies and the mother country. The Civil War in the decade of the 1640s; the Dutch wars of the 1650s, 1660s, and 1670s; the Spanish conflict beginning in the 1650s; the French in the 1660s, and the long war evolving in 1689 greatly retarded the shipping and advancement of both England and the Frontier. The struggle begun by Cromwell with Spain was finally brought to a close by Charles II in 1670, but "privateering by the Spanish continued on an elaborate scale for the remainder of the century."[104]

The English government kept a large standing army on the island of Jamaica for five or six years to prevent the Spanish from retaking that possession,[105] and in 1661 the English government fitted out four ships at a cost of £30,000 to protect the island.[106] In March, 1661/2 Thomas Windsor was made governor of Jamaica and one of his instructions gave him authority to "....grant such Commissions as to you shall seem requisite for the subduing of all our Enemies by Sea or Land....."[107] The Dutch and French were preying on the shipping during the war of the

1660s, and Governor Thomas Modyford began passing out commissions or letters of marque in 1664 and 1,500 men along with 16 ships armed with 113 guns were participating in such activities.[108] Men given these letters fitted out ships with guns and were merly "private warships employed on a national business and were called the militia of the sea."[109] The granting of commissions for private war against the French and Dutch in 1664 and against the Dutch, pirates, and privateers in the 1670s and 1680s took a considerable number of servants and men from Jamaica. These men with letters of commissions did not always restrict their war to that of the Dutch and French, but some of these private warships attacked English shipping. Privateering was the great business concern of the island in 1670.[110] The governor of Jamaica writing in April, 1676 declared that

> The only Enemy to Planting is Privateering which I have endeavored by all meanes possible to restrain and prevent, but thes Indyes are so vast and Rich, and this kind of Rapine so sweet that it is one of the hardest things in the world to draw those from it, which have used it long....I fear they are now more numerous and under pretence of french Commissions, continually Robb and prey upon the Spaniards to the great dishonor and Scandall of the government.....[111]

The shipping merchants not only had to worry about the great casualty of ships enroute to and from the Frontier because of the elements,[112] but had to combat the English privateers, pirates, and those of the other nations.

Large numbers of men and war materials were sent to Jamaica between 1660 and 1670; such articles as 500 barrels of powder, 3,500 muskets, 18,000 spikes, tons of lead, flint stones by the thousands, wheelbarrows, shovels, and numerous other necessities of war.[113] In 1680, forty-nine companies of soldiers consisting of 4,526 officers and

men were in Jamaica[114] with more guns being erected on the forts in the middle of the 1680s and additional equipment being sent to the island in 1689 for the long war that was to be so destructive to all participants.[115]

The support of the armies and sending of war materials to the island tended to disrupt the trade and harmony of Jamaica, but other factors affecting the traffic of the island were that of piracy and privateering of the Spanish, Dutch, and French. The Spaniards took many of the vessels of Jamaica which were trading to Campeache for logwood along with the turtle-hunting boats and fishing sloops, and were still preying on shipping at the close of the century. Forty of the vessels that were trading to Campeache between 1671 and 1685 were taken by the Spanish with the men being placed in prison in Havana, Cuba.[116] Vessels trading between Jamaica and the continental colonies also were being taken, and in 1677, more than 100 Englishmen were prisoners in Havana in addition to those that had been executed.[117]

The trade of the West Indies in 1680 was very much obstructed by the pirates roaming that area.[118] Three years later French pirates had taken eight to ten English vessels in the Jamaican waters.[119] The following year two ships of fifty guns and fifty-six guns, in addition to a sloop were sent out to take the pirates and instead, the pirates took the three vessels. These sea-robbers were going in company of several vessels and ravaging the Caribbean waters.[120] The pirates were doing damage to English shipping in the Jamaica waters by 1683 amounting to £40,000 to £50,000 yearly.[121] In the 1680s these marauders had bases in the Darien Gulf at Golden Island, Isle of Pines,[122] and Perico Island, and were preying on the Spanish galleons. The president of Panama sent forces out against Perico Island, but the expedition was

a failure and the Spanish were much alarmed about the great losses incurred from piracy.[123] Although frequent attempts were made to wipe the pirates and privateers from the Atlantic and Caribbean, ships under the command of these rogues continued to molest the sea lanes leading to the Frontier.[124] The gold, silver, and valuable commodities transported into Europe in the last half of the seventeenth century resulted in the greatest participation in the industry of piracy of any time prior or after that period.[125]

2. Sickness and death rate on the island

Many of the soldiers soon after landing in Jamaica, became ill and rapidly died. One regiment arrived in October, 1655 with 800 men and by November 5, the men had buried 50 of their comrades. Bleeding was used as a remedy against the illness, which made the individuals weaker; the sanitary conditions were atrocious, and the diet and impure water were other factors in causing great numbers to become ill. For a period, approximately 140 army personnel per week were being buried.[126] July, August, and September were always the worse months for sickness and death in the island.[127] The governor of Nevis arrived in Jamaica in 1656 with 1,300 persons and by 1660, all of them had died except 80 persons.[128] Ships that arrived at the island between May and September had lost as many as two-thirds of their crew.[129] This sickness plagued the people of Jamaica well after the close of this period, especially during the summer months, with the sickness in some years more severe than in others.

The inhabitants of the island also were harassed for about a half century by the Negroes and Spanish that retreated to the forest upon the

capture of Jamaica by the British.[130]

Hurricanes and storms occasionally swept the island, destroying cane, sheds, and other property.[131] These factors have been discussed in previous chapters and affected not only the plantations but frequently destroyed ships sailing to and from the Frontier. An occasional drought struck the island resulting in a shortage in the cane crop as well as in the other products.[132]

3. Effects of the navigation acts on shipping

The constant strife, competition, and war among the European powers during the seventeenth century makes the mercantile attitude of England toward her colonies and her neighbors more logical.[133] England along with her neighbors based their respective colonial policies of the seventeenth century on the following restrictions:

> 1. Restriction on the exportation of produce from the colony elsewhere than to the mother country.
> 2. Restrictions on the importation of goods into the colony from foreign countries.
> 3. Restrictions on the importation of colonial produce into the mother country from foreign countries or colonies.
> 4. Restrictions on the carriage of goods to and from the colonies in other shipping than that of the mother country.
> 5. Restrictions on the manufacture of their own raw produce by the colonists.[134]

The major reasons for the passage of the acts of trade were to gain power and security for England rather than wealth and plenty. Further reasons were to capture the trade of her possessions by excluding all foreign trade to the Frontier, and especially that of the Dutch. The immediate cause of the passage of the acts of 1650, 1651, 1660, and 1663 was the animosity and rivalry between the Dutch and English resulting in two Dutch wars and paving the way for the ultimate commercial supremacy of England.[135]

The English people eventually began realizing the importance of the Frontier trade and were determined through legislation to reap the benefits of that wealth of raw materials.[136] The navigation acts only strengthened the principles established in the reigns of James I and Charles I in limiting the Frontier trade to England, and the colonists always regarded both the principles and the laws as grievances.[137] Although the acts of trade were enforced to a considerable extent as indicated by the petitions of every colony on the Frontier requesting the legislation be repealed or relaxed, the merchants evaded the laws whenever possible. Illegal trade was a "permanent feature" of colonial commerce down to the American Revolution.[138] The Frontiersmen of America had developed a new way of life and the mercantile theory

> ....was never acceptable either in practice or in theory. If by chance a theory was called to their attention which ran counter to their interests, they ignored it and evaded any law made to force it upon them.[139]

Massachusetts was one of the greatest violators of the navigation acts declaring for sometime that the legislation did not apply to the colony. The custom officials would take vessels evading the laws and the courts of Massachusetts would release the merchants and ships. Incidents of this type were frequently cited in the other colonies.[140] The extensive shorelines, rivers, bays, inlets, and topography of the Frontier colonies made evasion of the trade regulations "easy." The "proximity" of foreign possessions both in the Caribbean and the continent, the limited number of custom officials, small pay of such men, the lack of sufficient government vessels to counteract smuggling, and similar factors made connivance and fraud a not uncommon occurrence in regard to the enforcement of the trade acts.[141]

The illegal trade to the Dutch and French islands in the Caribbean, New Amsterdam on the continent, the taking of enumerated articles to Spain and Europe by the New England vessels, as well as the foreign vessels trading to the Frontier illegally, all were instrumental in reducing the amount of products to be shipped by English vessels.[142] Until the capture of New York, the enforcement of the navigation acts was an impossibility, but after 1664 "for all practical purposes" foreign trade was excluded from the continental colonies.[143]

The navigation acts had many shortcomings, but they served the purpose for which they were enacted. English shipping increased and large sums of money were annually saved by England having its own shipping, employing its own men, and securing large quantities of products at much cheaper prices.[144] The navigation acts "gave a great impetus to English shipping,"[145] for before the passage of the acts, ten Dutch vessels were trading to Barbados for every one of English ships going to that island.[146] After the passage of the Navigation Act of 1660 thirty-eight of every forty ships trading to Barbados were English.[147] Sir Josiah Child declared that the Navigation Act of 1660,

> ....in relation to Trade, Shipping, Profit and Power, it is one of the choicest and most prudent Acts that ever was made in England, and without which we had not now been Owners of one half the Seamen which we do at present.[148]

Child also estimated that the act resulted in the building and employing of three times the number of ships and seamen which otherwise might not have existed had the act not been passed.[149] The navigation acts strengthened the relations with the plantations, the Levant, and Mediterranean, but resulted in the loss of the Greenland, Eastland, Scottish, Irish, and Guinea trades, the East Indies trade in spices and the timber trade to

the Baltic. The last was lost to the Danes and most of the other trades were taken over by the Dutch.[150]

Some of the foreign trade of England did diminish with the passing of the acts, but her Frontier trade constantly increased with capital being drawn from other trades and invested in the colonial trade. England had a monopoly of her Frontier trade; and in owning such possessions, she had a constant increasing vent for her manufactured products, resulting in the country growing considerably in wealth.[151] The navigation acts increased the shipping of England, but another factor requiring more ships was the long voyage to and from the Frontier consuming approximately twelve months, requiring a greater number of ships than if the voyages were of shorter duration.[152] Another contemporary of the period declared that the act,

> ....has obliged us to build and employ such numbers of ships and seamen, that we not only have a sufficiency to navigate our own Trades, but are become the carriers for others, even where we have not Trade ourselves.....[153]

The navigation acts increased shipping, trade, and commerce but the merchant class, numbering a small minority of the population benefitted most by the acts. The restrictions placed on the colonies and the people of England by the legislation, forced a rise in the price of commodities, restricted manufacturing, and reduced the trade of foreign nations both to England and the colonies, which was a hindrance to the people as a whole but very lucrative to shipping and trade.[154] Servants, horses, slaves, drygoods, and cattle almost doubled in price after the passing of the navigation acts. The freight increased, for the colonists were limited to shipping their products only via English vessels.[155] The confining of the enumerated products to England also caused a re-

duction in the prices of those commodities.[156] The fact remains that some phases of trade were hindered by the navigation acts, but the number of merchant ships as well as the number of merchants in England doubled between 1660 and 1688.[157] The majority of the contemporary authorities on trade as Sir Josiah Child, Sir Francis Brewster, and Charles D'avenant were of the opinion that the navigation acts were the "Sea Magna Chartas" and definitely were instrumental in increasing the trade and shipping of the mother country. However, there is no way of measuring the number of ships constructed because of the acts, but the result of this legislation greatly enhanced the shipping and trade of England.[158]

C. Effects of the Acquisition and Settlement of this Colony on English Shipping

1. Exports and increase in slaves

The settlement and rapid increase of the wealth of the West Indies resulted in the title of "West Indian" standing for affluence and luxury.[159] The production of Jamaica and the other Frontier colonies supplied England with many necessities that she would have had to purchase from foreigners, had she not owned these possessions. Through the sale of the products from the Frontier, she was able to keep a large stock of bullion in England; without which possessions she would have had to export large quantities to secure the desires of her people. Through her colonies she also was able to more easily adjust her balance of trade,[160] and the production of Jamaica was in part responsible for helping to fulfill the desires and necessities of the English people.

The island grew from insignificance in 1655, contributing nothing to the wealth of England; in fact, the expense was great in holding and

maintaining the island for several years; however, eighteen sugar works had been established by 1662.[161] The production had increased and sugar works numbered 47 by 1670, and the planters were exporting over 1,000,000 pounds of sugar; with 100 ships trading to the island from all parts.[162] The island had begun to thrive by 1670, and for the decade ending in 1679 the planters had been exporting an average of more than 2,000,000 pounds of sugar annually in addition to many more items.[163] This production and prosperity was being made possible by the constant increase in the slave population of the island, thus, reclaiming more and more land. In 1658 the planters owned 1,400 slaves and by 1673 the number had increased to 9,504 slaves with a constant request for an unending supply.[164] The planters were requesting from 3,000 to 5,000 slaves annually in the 1680s.[165] The sugar export of the island had reached over 15,000,000 by 1680 with the quantity soaring to above the 26,000,000 mark eight years later.[166] Progress wise, the island of Jamaica had grown from that of an "infant" in 1655 to a "young man" by 1688 and was to develop into "manhood" in the eighteenth century in the matter of production and exports. The island was to become the most prized possession of the British West Indies.[167]

2. Shipping and wealth of England

The shipping of England had been ever increasing in transporting the expanding production of the other Frontier colonies to market, and in the 1660s commodities in small quantities were being exported from Jamaica with the production developing more rapidly in the next decade, creating an incessant demand for more and more ships. Approximately 170 vessels from England and the colonies were entering the ports of Jamaica annually by 1675 and taking away the sugar, logwood, indigo, and other

items of the island.[168] Two years later thirty-five vessels from the port of London alone returned with cargoes from Jamaica with twenty-seven ships clearing in the same year for the island.[169] The wealth of Jamaica was accelerating, especially in the latter 1670s and more so in the 1680s. Forty-seven ships loaded commodities in Port Royal, Jamaica in 1678 for England[170] with the number increasing to approximately sixty-five by the close of this period.[171]

The vast amount of resources being shipped from Jamaica to England meant an increase in the wealth of the mother country. The value of the exports of sugar from all of the West Indies to England in 1690 was approximately £250,000.[172] From 1656-1688 a gradual yearly increase in the wealth of England was taking place resulting from her overseas trade and home manufacture, and by 1688 the growth in wealth of the country had risen to £2,000,000 annually.[173] The constant increase in the wealth of England largely as a result of her shipping is set forth in the figures as indicated:

In	1600	the	wealth	of	England	was £17,000,000
"	1630	"	"	"	"	" 28,000,000
"	1660	"	"	"	"	" 56,000,000
"	1688	"	"	"	"	" 88,000,000. note 174

D'avenant declared that England had prospered for 100 years "by every where extending its traffic as much as possible."[175] The West Indies possessions were a contributing factor in England attaining this wealth. The imports to England from the West Indies by 1700 were more than £629,000 with her exporting above £313,000 to the islands.[176] The shipping and navigation increased in proportion to the increase of the colonies of England and any other area dependent upon them.[177]

NOTES

CHAPTER VII

1. Edward Long, The History of Jamaica, or General Survey of that Ancient and Modern State of that Island: with Reflections on its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government (London: Printed for T. Lowdes, 1774), I, 585.

2. Burns, op. cit., 713; Long, op. cit., 370.

3. Captain Thomas Southey, Chronological History of the West Indies (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1827), II, 4-5.

4. Carrington, op. cit., 48. See also Moseley, op. cit., 29.

5. Long, op. cit., I, 9; C.S.P.C. 1574-1660, p. 450.

6. Burns, op. cit., 254; Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 347, f. 41.

7. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, pp. 136, 140, 140, 164-165, 241-244.

8. Burns, op. cit., 291, 323.

9. Thomas Coke, A History of the West Indies (Liverpool: Nuttall, Fisher, and Dixon, 1808), I, 246-247.

10. Long, op. cit., I, 411.

11. Ibid., 238-239.

12. C.O. 138/1, p. 81; C.S.P.C. 1574-1660, p. 450.

13. Long, op. cit., I, 238-239, 435.

14. Coke, op. cit., 246-247.

15. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 38, f. 265. See also C.S.P.C. 1574-1660, p. 450.

16. British Museum, Additional MSS. 11410, pp. 16-17.

17. Poyer, op. cit., 66-67; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 669, 758.

18. Carrington, op. cit., 48.

19. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 86.

20. Ibid., 88.

21. Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, Nos. 517, 525, 527.

22. See Appendix note 3.

23. C.O. 140/2, I, 21; C.O. 138/3, p. 333.

24. C.O. 138/3, p. 333, 478; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 277.

25. Aspinall, op. cit., 1.

26. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, pp. 87-88, 99.

27. Ibid., 99.

28. Ibid., 89, 108, 202-237.

29. Ibid., 202-203.

30. Coke, op. cit., 245-247.

31. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, pp. 87-88.

32. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 35.

33. Moseley, op. cit., 29-30.

34. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 347, f. 29; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 620. See also Library Congress, Harleian (photostat) MSS. 3361, p. 8.

35. Long, op. cit., I, 376.

36. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 204.

37. Long, op. cit., I, 375, 435.

38. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 337.

39. Gillespie, op. cit., 69-70.

40. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 698, 885.

41. Thomas, op. cit., 23-24. See also C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 777; 1681-1685, No. 668.

42. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 84.

43. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 347, f. 29. See also C.O. 140/2, I, 21.

44. C.O. 138/1, p. 17.

45. George Frederick Zooke, The Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: New Era Printing Company, 1919), 86. See also C.O. 140/2, I, 21.

46. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 347, f. 41.

47. Ibid., f. 42.

48. Pitman, op. cit., 48.

49. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 812. See also C.O. 138/1, p. 22.

50. Ibid., No. 1023.

51. Edwards, op. cit., II, 324-336.

52. Thomas, op. cit., 22.

53. C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, No. 2757.

54. Ibid.

55. Thomas, op. cit., 8. See also C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, Nos. 2293, 2546.

56. Gillespie, op. cit., 133.

57. Long, op. cit., I, 340-342.

58. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 587, 704; Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, No. 984.

59. Long, op. cit., I, 341-342.

60. Thomas, op. cit., 8-9.

61. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 704; C.O. 138/1, pp. 170-111.

62. C.O. 138/1, p. 81. See also Long, op. cit., I, 379; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 270.

63. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 375.

64. C.O. 140/2, I, 28.

65. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 375.

66. Ibid., No. 144.

67. Ibid., No. 887.

68. C.O. 318/2. See also C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 277.

69. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 777.

70. Ibid., Nos. 729, 921, 945.

71. Ibid., No. 1062.

72. C.O. 138/2, p. 45; C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 735.

73. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 740. See also C.O. 138/2, P. 110; C.O. 140/2, I, 40.

74. Ibid.; C.O. 138/1, p. 12.

75. Thomas, op. cit., 21-22; C.O. 142/13.

76. C.O. 390/6, pp. 31-35; C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 549.

77. MacInnes, Gateway of Empire, 159.

78. C.O. 318/2.

79. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 39.

80. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 740.

81. C.O. 1/42, p. 60, I, II. See also 342/4, pp. 58-59.

82. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 945.

83. Ibid. See also Ellis, op. cit., 99n.

84. Ibid.

85. Long, op. cit., I, 492; C.O. 142/13. See also C.O. 1/17, p. 89; C.O. 5/903, p. 54; C.O. 1/43, p. 180; British Museum, Sloane MSS. 3984, pp. 200-209; British Museum, Additional MSS. 8133, p. 237.

86. Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, Nos. 1235, 1275.

87. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1575.

88. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 1323, 1349, 1385, 1687.

89. Ibid., No. 668.

90. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, Nos. 1293, 1563; Acts of the Privy Council, 1680-1720, No. 146.

91. C.O. 138/3, p. 479.

92. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 1573.

93. C.O. 390/6, pp. 31-35. The export for 1686 covered a fifteen month period. See also Appendix note 9 for the large variety of goods and the quantity exported. The hogshead of sugar in 1680 in Jamaica was weighing 1120 pounds, but the weight varied throughout the period.

94. Deerr, op. cit., I, 198. See also British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2902, p. 153.

95. Documents Relative to Colonial New York, V, 615.

96. C.O. 390/6, pp. 31-35.

97. C.O. 142/13.

98. Gillespie, op. cit., 127.

99. C.O. 142/13.

100. C.O. 390/6, pp. 31-35; C.O. 142/13.

101. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 33.

102. C.O. 1/17, p. 107; C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 489, 753; British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 501; C.O. 138/2, pp. 150-151; C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 945; 1681-1685, Nos. 1065, 1683, 1938, 1949, 1974; 1685-1688, Nos. 85, 339, 548, 971, 2015, 2025; C.O. 138/5, p. 21.

103. Harper, op. cit., 9.

104. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 37.

105. Long, op. cit., I, 304.

106. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 364.

107. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 347, f. 16.

108. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 786; C.O. 1/17, p. 112. See also C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 149, 161, 162, 172, 211, 227, 275.

109. Burns, op. cit., 290. See also Richard A. Pares, War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 46-47.

110. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 347, f. 43; Long, op. cit., I, 14; C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 269.

111. C.O. 138/3, p. 53.

112. Webb, op. cit., 213.

113. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 294.

114. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1370.

115. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 716; Acts of the Privy Council, 1680-1720, No. 316.

116. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 115. See also C.O. 138/2, pp. 46-47, 110; C.O. 1/29, p. 105; C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 1938; 1700 no. 927.

117. Acts of the Privy Council, 1613-1680, Nos. 157, 1152.

118. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2724, p. 236; C.O. 138/5, pp. 1-9.

119. Acts of the Privy Council, 1680-1720, No. 109.

120. C.O. 138/4, pp. 240-241; Coke, op. cit., I, 269-275.

121. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 963.

122. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, Nos. 67, 1411.

123. Ibid., No. 67, 148.

124. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 116.

125. C.S.P.C. 1696-1697, Nos. 1187, 1203. See also C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, No. 1210; Burns, op. cit., 334-335.

126. Long, op. cit., I, 247.

127. C.S.P.C. 1697-1698, No. 89.

128. British Museum, Additional MSS. 11410, pp. 16-17.

129. C.S.P.C. 1696-1697, No. 324.

130. Coke, op. cit., I, 307. See also British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 241; Southey, op. cit., II, 32-33.

131. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 619.

132. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, Nos. 241, 533.

133. Harper, op. cit., 9. Harper's book is the basic work on the navigation acts and no attempt is being made here to analyze the acts, but merely to point out a few facts and show the effects of their passage on English shipping.

134. Merivale, op. cit., 193. See also Harper, op. cit., 253.

135. J.A.R. Marriot, England Since Waterloo (London: Methuen

135. (Continued) & Co., LtD., 1946), 59; Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 5-9; Harper, op. cit., 49.

136. Poyer, op. cit., 109; Harper, op. cit., 33.

137. C.O. 318/1, p. 31. See also Hunter, op. cit., 82-83.

138. Pitman, op. cit., 910. Examples of violations of the navigation acts are numerous throughout the Calendar of State Papers.

139. Webb, op. cit., 69.

140. Acts of the Privy Council, 1680-1720, no. 44; 1613-1680, Nos. 827, 828; C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, Nos. 45, 122; V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 286; Pitman, op. cit., 219-225; Andrews, Our Earliest Colonial Settlements, 60.

141. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, IV, 178-191.

142. Higham, op. cit., 196, 201-203; C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 553; British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, pp. 58-59; Harper, op. cit., 154-155; V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 290; C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, Nos. 288, 1281, 1301.

143. Harper, op. cit., 253.

144. Thomas, op. cit., 8-15.

145. Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 2.

146. Child, op. cit., 195-196.

147. C.O. 391/1, p. 241.

148. Child, op. cit., 112.

149. Ibid., 115.

150. David Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 240; Barbour, op. cit., 266-267.

151. Adam Smith, op. cit., III, 11-13.

152. Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 13-17.

153. S. H. Mildmay, The Laws and Policy of England Relating to Trade (London: T. Harrison, 1765), 94.

154. Adam Smith, op. cit., III, 21-65.

155. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 85; Wertenbaker, Virginia Under the Stuarts, 118.

156. Lipson, op. cit., III, 3-4; R. V. Harlow, op. cit., 28.

157. D'avenant, op. cit., II, 29; Cunningham, op. cit., 932-933.

158. Harper, op. cit., 236.

159. Aspinall, op. cit., 2.

160. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, p. 631.

161. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 620.

162. C.O. 138/1, p. 81.

163. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 945.

164. Pitman, op. cit., 48.

165. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1575; 1681-1685, Nos. 1293, 1563.

166. C.O. 390/6, pp. 31-35.

167. Pitman, op. cit., 108-113.

168. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 740.

169. C.O. 1/42, pp. 60, I, II.

170. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 945.

171. C.O. 390/6, pp. 31-35; C.O. 143/13.

172. Thomas, op. cit., 37. See also Pitman, op. cit., 108-113.

173. D'avenant, op. cit., I, 93.

174. Ibid., 385.

175. Ibid., 387.

176. John Lord Sheffield, Observations on the Commerce of the American States (London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1874), Appendix 20.

177. Mildmay, op. cit., 91.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRONTIER INDIRECTLY EFFECTING ENGLISH SHIPPING THROUGH THE REQUIREMENT OF SLAVES

A. West Indies

1. Barbados

a. Brief background of slavery

The Negro slave trade was being carried on several centuries prior to its introduction on the Frontier. The Moors were the first slave traders bringing the African blacks over the land route into Western Europe from which source the aristocrats of Spain and Portugal obtained their supply of blacks for use on their large estates. The transport of Negroes by land was soon to be supplanted by the ship, for Prince Henry, The Navigator, began sending exploring expeditions along the African coast in the fifteenth century and had some experience in collecting a few slaves from the Canary Islands. Being a man of money and always looking for new projects, he decided to go into the slave business by sending a ship to Africa in 1434 on a slaving mission; however, no slaves were obtained. In 1442 another expedition was launched with the result that 235 Negroes were brought back to Portugal. This success paved the way for the waste land of Spain and Portugal to be cultivated. A lucrative slave trade had been launched,[1] and by the death of Prince Henry in 1460, an average of 600 slaves to 700 slaves annually were being imported into Portugal for use as servants by the wealthy

families of the country.[2]

The year 1444 may be called the beginning of "modern traffic in Negroes" in the Western world. The transportation of the African slave over water after 1444 ushered in a new enterprise for the people of Western Europe. By 1456, the slave trade "had become an accepted and profitable part of European commerce, and the privilege of carrying them being eagerly sought."[3] There is no record as to how or when the first Negro slave arrived on the Frontier, but "tradition has it that Columbus carried one or two" on his first voyage to America, for the slaves were plentiful in Spain when he set sail on his initial voyage.[4]

The first slave labor in the New World was the Indian, who was not suited to such labor in temperament, diet, or custom, and was an unprofitable worker on the plantations. The "immediate successor" to the Indian was the indentured servant, who also was not adequate in number to supply the labor demand in the West Indies.[5] Next came the Negro slave, and the initial importation of the black man into the West Indies is attributed to the insistence of Bishop Bartholomew de las Casas, of Seville. He had a curacy in the island of Cuba endeavoring to convert the Indians. In order to relieve the poor creatures of some of their chores, the Bishop persuaded Emperor Charles V to grant charters to some Genoese merchants in 1517 to import 4,000 slaves annually to Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. Bartholomew de las Casas insisted that the African was a slave from birth, doomed to perpetual slavery, and that no wrong was being committed in keeping the Negro in servitude.[6]

The Negro slave was being transported to the West Indies from

Africa. The English traders had made voyages to the Canaries by 1526 and had reached the coast of Africa by approximately 1530 in their trading expeditions. William Hawkins, father of John Hawkins, trading with Brazil probably routed his ships via the Guinea coast in 1530, 1531, 1532, and 1536. He definitely had his ships on the African coast in 1539-1540. After this year, no records indicate that any English were trading on the coast until 1553 when an expedition went to River Sestos on the African coast where the traders found gold and ivory.[7] Although many perished because of the sickly climate, another voyage was fitted out in 1554 returning with gold, ivory, and "certaine black slaves....the colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them."[8] The first Englishman to participate in the slave trade was John Hawkins. Backed by several leading merchants of England in 1562, Hawkins set sail for the Guinea coast with two ships of 100 tons and one of 40 tons. He took 300 slaves on the coast and sailed to Hispaniola where the slaves were exchanged for hides, pearls, ginger, and sugar. Hawkins returned to England in September, 1563, and presented to the contributors of the voyage a large profit on their money. The knowledge of this voyage not only excited the merchant traders but the British government as well. A second voyage was planned the following year, and Queen Elizabeth gave John Hawkins command of one of her ships, the "Jesus," of 700 tons. With six ships, Hawkins set sail from Plymouth in October, 1564; and in the Bay of Biscay the ships were caught in a storm, one blew up, one returned to England, and the remaining four proceeded to Africa successfully completing the trading mission. A third voyage in 1568 with six ships was a miserable failure, after which time the English left the slave trade to the Portuguese,

Spanish, and Dutch until the development of the British West Indies.[9]

Due to difficulties with the Portuguese coupled with the sickly climate, the English did not trade to Africa between 1568-1588. But in this later year, Elizabeth granted a patent to men of London and Devonshire to have exclusive trade on the Guinea coast for ten years.[10]

However, with the exception of John Hawkins' trade in slaves, and,

> For complete lack of evidence to the contrary one must conclude that between 1569 and 1618 England's only connection with the slave trade came through casual captures of prizes carrying slaves.[11]

Sir Robert Rich and other London merchants received a charter from James I in 1618 granting them permission to trade on the Guinea coast. The company failed in their project and the charter expired. Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby with sundry other merchants were granted a charter by Charles I in 1631 to establish a company to trade on the Guinea coast between Cape Blanco and Cape of Good Hope. The grantees were given exclusive rights for thirty-one years. The West Indies at this time were being settled by the English, and as a greater demand for slaves existed, the company built forts and warehouses at great expense anticipating large profits from the slave trade. However, the interference by the interlopers from England and other European countries resulted in the failure of the enterprise.[12]

Charles II on December 18, 1660 granted a charter to The Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa with exclusive trade rights on the West coast of Africa from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope for a period of one thousand years. The company was reorganized and given a new charter on January 10, 1663 changing the name to The Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa.[13] The

Morocco Company was formed in 1661 with the Duke of York and Francis Lord Willoughby as the major holders obtaining the territory from Casablanca to Cape Blanco. Many of the holders also had interests in the other African company. These companies were formed endeavoring to force the Dutch out of the slave trade, who had been supplying the greater portion of the slaves to the English colonies.[14] The Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa had plans to supply 3,000 slaves annually to the British West Indies; however, because of the war with the Dutch and other obstacles, the company failed and surrendered its charter to the King in 1672, selling its property for £34,000 to the new company, the Royal African Company, chartered on October 18, 1672.[15]

The Royal African Company raised a subscription of £111,000 in nine months, and among the subscribers were Charles II, the Duke of York, and other men of wealth. The company began to prosper and introduced into England a new method of making woolen goods and other manufacturing processes. Large quantities of gold were imported, and in 1673 more than 50,000 guineas were coined. The company also began importing new dye woods, ivory, wax and similar valuable commodities, in addition to supplying the Frontier with slaves.[16]

b. Demand for slaves and employment of shipping

The Frontier colonies indirectly caused an increase in English shipping through the perpetual demand and requirement of a large number of slave laborers.

The staple crops of Barbados and the other West Indies possessions in the initial stages of settlement were not so specialized and the labor consisted of servants and free whites. However, the intro-

duction of sugar into the islands made the demand for the "human livestock" of Africa a necessity for the successful production of that commodity.[17] The planters realized that only a continuous supply of African slaves could fulfill their needs, and make possible the growth and progress of the sugar islands.[18]

Although not many slaves were imported into the West Indies prior to the Restoration, the majority were transported to the islands by the Dutch. The Dutch used Curacao as a center of trade for distributing the slaves to their own possessions as well as to the English, French, and Spanish islands.[19] The Dutch entered the slave trade about 1600 and had built Fort Nassau on the Gold Coast in 1611-1612; subsequently, building other forts and establishing factories along the African coast from which slaves were being secured to supply the West Indies.[20] However, after the Restoration, the English government clearly understood the advantages of the "exclusive right of colonial supply" and began to apply this principle to the African slave trade.[21]

The introduction of sugar into Barbados resulted in the accumulation of the land into the hands of a few, which also meant that the whites steadily declined while the number of slaves increased. In 1645 the population of Barbados was 18,300 with 11,200 proprietors and by 1667 only 745 proprietors were on the island.[22] The whites not only in Barbados but in the remainder of the British islands began taking measures to prevent the uprisings of Negroes and endeavored to keep a certain ratio of whites to blacks, but usually the ratio of whites was never commensurate to that set by law.[23]

The increased demand for sugar and other West Indian products

by the middle of the seventeenth century resulted in an increased production with a proportional demand for slaves. The Royal Adventurers in January, 1662 agreed to furnish slaves to the islands in lots as indicated:

Barbados at. . . . . £15 per head
Leeward Islands at. . . 16 " "
Jamaica at . . . . . 17 " "
Virginia at . . . . . £18 per head.[24]

The company would either take money or approximately 2,400 pounds of muscovado sugar per head in lots in this year.[25] Between August 11, 1663 and March, 1664, the company imported 2,350 slaves into Barbados at an average price above £20 per head.[26] The planters, however, had a definite shortage of labor between 1664-1667 because of the Dutch war. The company furnished very few slaves to the islands during wars, creating hardships on the planters as well as the merchants.[27]

In order to retain a sufficient labor supply, the Caribbean planter was frequently constrained to purchase new slaves. Birth rates among the slaves was low and infrequent, for the number of men to women was often five to one. Stillbirths and miscarriages were the usual, while as many as one-fourth of those born alive died within the first two weeks. Another fourth or more died while still in babyhood. The death rate among men and women was "appalling." Death, either by suicide or disease, took one-fourth of the slaves within the first three years of their life in the West Indies.[28] Those slaves that did survive in Barbados "in the worst period of English slavery" had a life expectancy of sixteen years.[29]

The death rate in the islands among all peoples was high, especially in the summer season. The burials in Barbados between 1640

and 1666 were excessively high.[30] In 1683 out of a population of 66,000 persons, 1,026 were buried.[31] Thus, the rapid death rate of the slaves along with the reclaiming of new acreage, required a large number of slaves which employed considerable number of men and ships.[32]

The company officials reported in January, 1665 to the King that the enterprise of the company was employing "....above 100 sail of good ships yearly....."[33] Slaves were difficult to obtain in war time and Francis Lord Willoughby declared in 1667 that the Negroes were "so excessive scarce and dear are they now that the poor planters will be forced to go to foreign plantations for a livelihood."[34] However, in June, 1667 four ships arrived from Africa with 1,000 slaves for Barbados.[35] The company officials at that time were reporting that about 6,000 slaves annually were being imported into the Frontier; this statement was an exaggeration, for the war had prevented the company from sending slaves to the Frontier and the colonies were complaining of the lack of slaves. The supply continued to be scarce and in 1669 evidence indicated that the company was ruined and was not able to supply sufficient laborers to the planters. The island needed about 7,500 slaves by 1672 to replace the losses and fulfill the current demand.[36]

However, the new company, the Royal African Company, began to prosper and between 1674 and 1676 thirty-nine vessels were employed in supplying Barbados, Nevis, Jamaica, and Virginia with slaves.[37] The company imported approximately 15,995 slaves into Barbados between 1673 and 1684 averaging about 1,333 slaves per annum. as indicated:

LIST OF NEGROES SUPPLIED TO BARBADOS, May, 1673-May, 1684

Date	Number of Negroes[38]	Average Price Per Head £	s
1673 May 6	204	17	11
1674 Feb. 12	220	18	0
" Mar. 11	292	22	4
" April 6	214	19	11
" April 8	280	18	7
1675 Feb. 5	322	18	19
" May 20	115	14	0
" July 15	448	18	10
" July 26	231	15	6
" Nov. 1	317	18	5
" Dec. 2	73	17	15
1676 Mar. 24	281	16	13
" Aug. 10	10	8	0
" May 25	372	15	13
" June 2	198	14	7
" June 22	220	14	9
" Oct. 26	178	16	0
" Nov. 10	574	17	15
1677 May 1	152	11	2
" May 4	14	18	14
" April 24	391	16	2
" June 14	329	15	2
1678 Jan. 5	107	8	4
" Jan. 29	452	17	2
" April 17	244	12	16
" May 28	202	16	1
" Oct. 17	234	8	14
" Nov. 1	281	16	3
" Dec. 4	281	15	14
" Dec. 5/10	252	15	1
1679 Jan. 16	151	16	0
" April 8	40	16	0
" April 24	60	13	7
" Nov. 12	134	13	9
" Oct. 28	184	14	0
1680 Mar. 26	319	13	13
" Mar. 30	286	14	9
" Aug. 5	144	13	9
" July 20	300	15	0
" Oct. 5	58	13	11
" Oct. 21	253	16	10
1681 Feb. 18	66	17	10
" Mar. 23	157	16	3
" May 26	54	14	3
" May 28	19	10	10

Date	Number of Negroes[38]	Average Price Per Head	
		£	s
1681 May 13	302	11	10
" May 18	122	13	0
" Aug. 30	100	13	15
" Sept. 27	363	13	14
" Sept. 27	129	11	9
" Sept. 28	134	11	8
" Sept. 30	55	13	0
1682 Feb. 7	121	12	16
" Mar. 1	18	11	8
" Mar. 1	133	16	3
" June 15	138	13	15
" July 18	229	15	19
" Aug. 18	86	15	3
" Nov. 7	290	15	12
" Dec. ?	18	11	8
1683 Jan. 3	188	14	8
" Jan. 27	429	15	0
" Jan. 27	30	10	0
" Jan. 31	213	15	16
" Feb. 20	303	14	19
" Mar. 22	92	14	12
" April ?	95	15	0
" April 4	126	13	4
" Mar. 20	133	15	0
" May 3	145	11	16
" Oct. 13	158	12	7
" Dec. ?	360	?	
" May 8	91	11	5
" July 31	178	13	16
" Aug. 29	95 (93)	10	12
" Sept. ?	135	15	0
" Sept. 18	15	4	0
" Sept. 24	119	15	0
1684 Jan. 21	168	13	18
" Jan. 22	184	13	12
" Feb. 13	429	13	16
" Mar. 4	306	12	13
" April 15	222	12	12
" May 30	71	12	18

The planters in Barbados were prospering to such an extent in the 1670s that Governor Atkins declared in 1677 that 2,000 to 3,000 slaves were needed annually to fulfill the demand of labor.[39] In the

1670s six to eight ships were employed annually, in addition to interloping ships, in furnishing slaves to Barbados,[40] with as many as approximately eighteen in 1683.[41] The majority of the ships employed by the Royal Adventurers were hired,[42] and the Royal African Company owned few of the ships transporting its goods prior to the Revolution.[43] The Royal African Company sent out 165 ships between 1680-1684 of which 124 were hired with many of the "remainder" being small craft and being permanently kept on the African coast.[44] The company had a few small ships that shuttled slaves from Gambia to Barbados and the other islands. Although the company hired the majority of their ships used in the slave trade, normally the vessels were not employed by the company throughout the triangle of trade. The ships would leave England, proceed to Africa, pick up slaves; thence to the West Indies at which place the contract between the company and the services of the ships would usually end. More ships were hired for the complete triangle trade after 1689 as the products of the Frontier increased in value on the market. When necessary, the company would employ the ships for the complete triangle, for the company frequently took sugar and commodities in exchange for the slaves. Sugar to the amount of 4,636,800 pounds was imported in 1680-1682 by the company into England from Barbados and Jamaica.[45]

The company in hiring the ships to transport slaves to the Frontier would usually pay the shipmaster so much per head, which was £4 10s in 1680, for each live slave delivered to Barbados.[46] This was an attempt to get the captain of the ship to arrive at the destination with as many live slaves as possible.[47] The average cost of the slave on the African coast between 1676 and 1688 was £3 with the cost doubling and

tripling in the next decade.[48] The supply of Barbados alone in slaves was a lucrative business, and many merchants became wealthy in dealing in the slave trade to the Frontier. The Royal African Company had approximately £150,000 constantly engaged in the African trade,[49] and the company paid six dividends between 1674 and 1681,[50] with eight dividends being paid between 1680 and 1692.[51] These dividends indicate the profit in the slave trade and account for the constant interloping on the monopoly of the company.[52] Barbados required a large number of slaves; the number of blacks in the island in 1645 consisted of 5,680[53] with the number increasing to 46,502 by 1684; however, many more than the numbers indicated were imported into the island because of the large death rate of the slave.[54]

The slave trade depended on the demand of the sugar plantations of the West Indies,[55] and although the traders usually loaded approximately two slaves on board for each ton of ship,[56] many loaded more, which resulted in a heavy death toll enroute to the plantations. Edwyn Stede of Barbados reported to the company in January, 1679 stating that he had sent a cargo of slaves to Nevis, but

> ....wee took a shore which were not fitt to be sent not being able to stand all of which are dead---notwithstanding wee used all possible care to preserve and recover them....the 45 Negroes brought on shore.... the mortality which was great among them by reason of their stop here....and it doth most certainly appear to us the great mortality of Negroes....was occasioned by the ship being overcrowded and pestered with the supernumerary Negroes taken into that ship not having Roome to Stow or Clean them for wee never saw soe stinking foule and Nasty ship in our Lives.[57]

Disregarding sanitary conditions, food and disease, the mortality rate among the slaving ships was due to the captains overloading in order to secure those extra freight charges. The overloading, however, re-

sulted in unsanitary conditions and occasionally brought on epidemics of flux and fevers. A representative of the company in 1681 suggested that the ships be restricted in loading slaves which would reduce the death rate enroute to the Frontier.[58] The conditions in the middle passage were frequently the cause of the large death rate of the Negroes on the plantation, for it was not uncommon for a planter to purchase slaves which had been exposed to disease on board ship and the Negroes would die within a few days after purchase.[59]

The death rate among Negroes on board ships while waiting for a full cargo on the coast of Africa was sometimes appalling. One report declared that in twenty days of waiting for a load, eighty Negroes perished and the ship had to be dispatched without a full cargo.[60] Immediately upon arrival on the Frontier, the slaves were sold as soon as possible for "Negroes are not only very chargeable and perishable, but it is impracticable to keep any quantity unsold for many days; we must part with them for what we can get."[61] Some shipmasters estimated 15 per cent loss enroute and 4 per cent to 5 per cent loss in port in the West Indies while the slaves were being sold.[62] The company officials in 1680 reported that the slaves were costing £4 to £5 in Africa and that the mortality rate enroute to the Frontier was 25 per cent.[63] Figures kept by the company, in fact, indicate that in this year the mortality rate of more than 5,000 slaves imported into the West Indies, the enroute passage took 27 2/3 per cent.[64] The company between 1680 and 1688 took on 60,783 slaves in Africa and lost 23 2/3 per cent on the middle passage to the West Indies. Thus, the mortality of the enroute passage was high. In some years the losses were as great as 28 per cent and 29 per cent.[65] The rate of death on

the middle passage was reduced within the next two decades. However, in 1707 the declaration was made that in order to supply the Frontier with 25,000 slaves yearly, a minimum of 30,000 would have to be purchased in Africa to allow for mortality, and that this would is based on the assumption that all ships arrive safely.[66]

The supply of slave labor on the Frontier depended to a great extent on the conditions in Africa. If tribal wars were in progress, slaves were easily obtained, for tribes making prisoners of their neighbors would sell all such captives to the slaving ships. Thus, the supply on the Frontier would be adequate, but if peace reigned among the natives, slaves were difficult to secure,[67] which indicated that factors affecting the slave on the coast of Africa and the ship-board passage, affected production, and indirectly that of trade, on the Frontier.

The production of Barbados continued to increase in the 1680s and the slave population of the island expanded from 38,668 in 1680[68] to 46,802 four years later.[69] The number of slaves delivered to Barbados between 1680 and 1688 were as indicated:

Year	No. Slaves
1680	1,879
1681	2,337
1682	2,709
1683	3,569
1684	1,633
1685	2,384
1686	2,571
1687	3,230
1688	1,269
Total	21,512 slaves.[70]

The company loaded 60,783 slaves[71] on 249 ships[72] on the coast of Africa during this period for delivery to the West Indies. This was an average of 244 slaves per ship loaded in Africa with approximately

23 2/3 per cent dying enroute, resulting in the island of Barbados receiving aboute 2,391 slaves annually. The figures indicate that the slaves imported into Barbados in the nine years were employing about twelve ships annually.

2. Leeward Islands

a. Labor requirement

The Leeward Islands, individually were of less acreage than Barbados, required a smaller number of slaves, and consisted mostly of small farmers.[73] Tobacco, ginger, cotton, and indigo were the crops of the islands with the conversion to sugar beginning in the 1650s, and the labor requirement was less than was to be necessary at a later date. The small number of slaves that were needed in this decade were being purchased from the Dutch and private slavers.[74] Although the planters desired slaves in the decade of the 1660s, few were imported into the islands, not only because of the need being small, but during the war, the importation of slaves by the company was almost nil.[75]

The expansion of production of the Leeward Islands in the 1670s resulted in the demand for more slaves. The islands were reported by Governor Wheler in 1671 as needing 4,000 slaves at that time, and he said that Nevis was not half planted for lack of slaves.[76] The Dutch war in 1672 did limit the operations of the Royal African Company, but some slaves were imported into the Leeward Islands.[77] The planters were complaining of the lack of Negroes, and the slave holders of Antigua reported that only one cargo of slaves had been sent to the island direct between 1672 and 1686; however, Nevis was the slave mart of the islands and the distribution center for slaves.[78] The

Montserrat planters declared in 1680 that the company had sent only two ships to that island since the Dutch and French took it in 1666, and that slaves were scarce, thereby compelling the plantation owners to plant some tobacco and indigo because of the lack of labor to plant sugar cane.[79] St. Christopher in the same year was complaining of the lack of Negroes and declared that those received in the island from Nevis were frequently refuse slaves.[80] Two years later, however, the price of slaves was declining as the market was being glutted with such labor,[81] and thereafter planters were reasonably supplied with slaves for the remainder of this period.[82]

b. Importation of slaves and shipping employed

The hopes of the officials of the Company of Royal Adventurers were to furnish the Frontier with the necessary slaves and realize a sizeable profit for all stockholders of the company. Soon after beginning its operations, the company got into financial difficulty and had to be reorganized. The Dutch war resulted in further difficulties for the company, and before 1672, indications were in evidence that the company was not successful; the property was sold to the new Royal African Company in this year. The Royal Adventurers never imported many slaves into the Leeward Islands.[83] The representative of the company in March, 1664 sent 300 slaves to Nevis and St. Christopher,[84] and between 1665 and 1672 no Negroes had been shipped into the islands by the company. Private traders, however, with licenses from the Royal Adventurers had imported 300 slaves into Nevis and an additional 300 into Antigua and Montserrat. The planters of the Leeward Islands had only received 600 slaves in the seven years between 1665 and 1672.[85] The slave population of the four Leeward Islands in 1672

consisted of only 3,204 slaves.[86] The progress of the islands began to advance in this decade, with an increased importation of slaves and an expanding exportation of sugar and the lesser commodities of the islands. Early in 1674, the islands began receiving an annual supply of slaves as indicated. The Negro population of the four islands had reached 8,449 by 1678 with the number continuing to increase.[87]

Year	No. Ships	Slaves Imported into L. I.
1674	3 note 88	530
1675	3	503
1676	4	575
1677	2	525
1678	4	763
1679	6	1,061 note 89
1680	4	501
1681	6	1,076
1682	7	333
1683	2	159 note 90
1684	1	146
1685	1	593
1686	4	1,207
1687	4	952
1688	5	1,265
Total	56 ships[91]	10,189 slaves[92]

The figures indicate, allowing for loss enroute, that approximately six ships were employed in importing an average of 879 slaves into the Leeward Islands annually. More slaves were brought into the islands in the 1670s and 1680s than the figures indicate, for interloping increased in this period.[93] The Dutch also were importing slaves into the islands in 1687.[94]

3. Jamaica

a. Labor requirements

Jamaica was by far the largest British possession in the West Indies with fertile-productive land resulting in a constant greater de-

mand for slaves than in the other islands. African Negroes were imported into Jamaica as a labor supply as early as 1518,[95] but were never brought into the island in large numbers until the capture of the island by the English and the introduction of sugar cane.

The planters began the production of sugar in 1660 and almost immediately requests were being made for slaves and servants to till the soil. The Royal Adventurers Company was furnishing some slaves to the island in the 1660s and was allowing the planters six months credit in paying for their Negroes.[96] In 1665 the supply of slaves was not commensurate with the demand,[97] and in 1670 Modyford wrote that "Jamaica only needed whites and blacks" to turn the island into a great production center.[98]

The exports were greatly increasing in Jamaica in the 1670s, and although a yearly supply of slaves were being imported into the island,[99] the number was so lacking in meeting the demand that some merchants in 1675 were purchasing slaves in Barbados at £17 per head and selling them in Jamaica at £22 to £24 each.[100] The high price of slaves in the island also encouraged interlopers, and because of the lucrative trade of the slave, the African companies were always having trouble with traders infringing upon their monopoly.[101] H. Molesworth of Jamaica wrote in May, 1679 that the island was well supplied with slaves and that the company was in good standing with the planters, thus facilitating the suppression of interlopers.[102] However, this seems to have been a letter endeavoring to make the government officials of England believe that the slave supply was adequate, no interlopers existed, and that all was well. For the following year the planters were petitioning the Lords of Trade and Plantations that

the company could sell 3,000 slaves to 4,000 slaves yearly at £16 to £17 per head[103] in lots as was the agreed price set by the Royal African Company in 1672; the planters continued to request six months credit at 20 per cent.[104] Later in 1680, the Royal African Company agreed to supply the planters with slaves at £18 per head, but in 1683 the company endeavored to break the contract declaring that the price of slaves had increased on the African coast because of interlopers. The King, however, ordered the company to continue to supply the planters at the price as agreed.[105]

The island was prospering in the 1680s more than in any previous period. Slaves in 1682 were being sold for cash; whereas in the past the planters had always requested six months credit and longer. The Negro was so much in demand that even though ready money was available for the purchasing of the slaves, not enough of these human livestock were being imported into the island to satisfy the requests of the planters.[106] The company was requested to import 5,000 slaves in 1683 and 3,000 Negroes in succeeding years.[107] In 1684 the company agreed to import the 5,000 slaves in that year and 3,000 yearly;[108] the initial number of slaves were not imported into the island, but in some years the company did import 3,000 slaves or more into the island.[109]

The Spaniards were purchasing a few slaves from Jamaica when the Negroes were available, but the demand of the planters usually absorbed all that were shipped into the island.[110] Thomas Lynch reported in July, 1683 that 2,000 to 3,000 slaves could have been sold to the Spanish if such a supply were on hand, but as the planters had none to sell, he had let interlopers sell 130 to the Spaniards.[111] Two years

later the Spanish came to the island and finding no slaves available, proceeded to Barbados hoping to secure a cargo in that island.[112] Slaves, however, were being sold to the Spanish from Jamaica in the 1680s, for the council of Jamaica in 1689 declared that within the past six years, [illegible] many of the best slaves had been sold to the Spaniards with the planters having to purchase the refuse slaves at exorbitant rates.[113] As long as there was a labor shortage, some planters were always dissatisfied with the labor supply, and similar complaints were probably being made in the eighteenth century when the slaves in the island reached more than 200,000 in number.[114]

b. Importation of slaves and shipping employed

Jamaica became an important possession of England because of the effect of the importation of the African peoples into that island fulfilling the labor demand and resulting in its rise to wealth and prestige. The increase in the population of the island, the number of slaves imported, and the ships employed in bringing the laborers to Jamaica are evidence of the progress and growth of this possession.

The perpetual request for slaves soon after the capture and securing of Jamaica, naturally resulted in the increase of the Negro population. The planters owned 1,400 slaves[115] in 1658 with the number expanding to 11,816 by 1679.[116] During these years the exports of the island were consistently increasing, causing more land to be reclaimed with a further growth, expansion, and output of the island. The slave trade was a profitable industry, for between 1678 and 1689 the usual charge of the master of the ship to transport slaves from Africa to Jamaica was about £5 6s with the price doubling during wartime.[117] The planters began receiving a regular annual supply of

slaves by 1670, although the number was not always sufficient to meet the demand. Slaves in the following number were imported into the island as indicated:

Year	No. Slaves
1670	111
1671	1,040
1672	1,146
1673	584
1674	438
1675	3,234
1676	2,005
Total	9,248 slaves.[118]

The Royal African Company employed thirty-nine ships in supplying slaves to the entire Frontier for the years 1674-1676, indicating the prosperity of the Frontier in this decade.[119]

The Frontier in the next decade was demanding an even greater number of slaves, with the mother country experiencing a tremendous increase in the quantity of raw materials flowing in from her American colonies which was only made possible by the large labor supply being imported from Africa. The company delivered the following number of slaves to the island in this decade:

Year	No. Slaves
1680	1,371
1681	1,576
1682	1,452
1683	2,919
1684	2,066
1685	3,307
1686	3,099
1687	595
1688	2,402
Total	18,787 slaves.[120]

Jamaica, on the basis of these figures was receiving an average of 2,087 slaves annually for the 9 years, and employing approximately 10 ships in transporting these laborers to the island. The West Indies

would have received a much greater number of slaves if the loss had not been so great during the middle passage.

The slaves loaded in Africa by the company, the ships employed, the number of slaves delivered to the West Indies, and the loss is as indicated:

Year	No. Ships	Negroes Shipped	Total Delivered to W.I.	Per Cent Lost
1680	24	5,190	3,751	27 2/3
1681	22	6,327	4,939	21 1/7
1682	31	6,330	4,494	29
1683	35	9,081	6,488	28 1/2
1684	22	5,384	3,845	28 1/2
1685	35	8,658	6,304	27 1/4
1686	31	8,355	6,812	18 1/3
1687	24	5,806	4,777	14 4/5
1688	25	5,852	4,936	15 2/3
Total[121]	249	60,783	46,396	23 2/3

The 249 ships averaged 147 tons each[122] and, disregarding interlopers, the planters of the Frontier for these years were employing approximately 28 ships annually in supplying their labor needs. The majority of these ships has already been accounted for as trading between England and the Frontier, for most of the ships upon unloading their slaves took on a cargo of Frontier commodities and sailed for England. Only a small number "shuttled" between Africa and the American colonies.[123] The number of ships importing slaves into the Frontier in 1701 had increased to 104 ships,[124] Jamaica in the eighteenth century became the center of the slave trade as well as the largest British sugar producing island.[125] The discovery of America and the land being practically void of a labor supply made the slave trade a permanent and lucrative business for Western Europe and its colonies for approximately four hundred years.[126]

B. Continental Colonies

1. Southern colonies

The number of slaves imported into the continental colonies during this period of study was negligible.[127] The first slaves taken to the territory of the continental colonies were transported there in 1525 by some Spaniards. A small settlement was established near where Jamestown, Virginia now stands. Dissension and an uprising caused the Spanish to abandon the settlement, taking the slaves back to Haiti.[128] The English settlers on the continent, however, obtained their first African slaves in 1619; the people of Jamestown, Virginia exchanged tobacco for twenty Negroes from a Dutch privateer, and by 1625 the colony had only twenty-two Negroes.[129]

The slave trade to Virginia was so small that "statutory recognition" was not given to the subject until 1661,[130] and the Negro population of the colony at that time was only about 300 blacks.[131] Virginia, by far, had the greatest slave population on the continent during this period of study; and the number had increased to 3,000 by 1683,[132] with only an average of 1.6 slaves per plantation in Virginia by the close of the century. The large importation of slaves into the colony in the eighteenth century, however, definitely changed these figures.[133]

The southern colonies depended on indentured servants for their labor in this period. In 1683, the servants consisted of one-sixth of the population of Virginia.[134] Maryland recognized slavery by passing an act in 1663/4 declaring that,

> ....all negroes and other slaves within this province, and all negroes and other slaves to be hereinafter imported into this province, shall serve during life; and all children born of any negro or other slave,

> shall be slaves as their fathers were, for the term of their lives.[135]

In 1671 the colony passed legislation encouraging the importation of slaves, but the numbers purchased by the planters were insignificant even after such action.[136] South Carolina recognized slavery legally in 1682, but the planters by 1720 owned only 12,000 slaves.[137] Slavery in North Carolina was controlled more by custom, and legislation concerning the slave was delayed until 1715 in that colony.[138] Although Virginia imported the largest number of slaves, the small influx of Negroes even by the close of the century was "too small to affect seriously the economic life of the colony."[139]

2. Northern colonies

Very few slaves were ever imported into the northern colonies, not only because this type of labor was not demanded in that area because of the commodities produced, but the Negro was not too adaptable to the climate.[140]

Slavery, however, was recognized officially in Connecticut in 1650, the act stating that Indians harming individuals of the colony may be made to serve the colonists or be traded for slaves.[141] The people owned no slaves by 1676,[142] but four years later three or four slaves were being imported yearly and sold for approximately £22 each; however, they were used and thought of mostly as servants rather than as slaves.[143]

Few blacks were occasionally being imported into Boston from Barbados, Jamaica, and the other islands in exchange for provisions; a small number in 1679 were brought into Plymouth.[144] The following year Plymouth had only a few slaves except Indian women and

boys "taken in the late war; no blacks brought thither, some few brought to Boston....at £20 to £30; the number of blacks there is few....."[145] Approximately five or six Negroes were being born in Massachusetts yearly by 1680,[146] and the number of slaves in that colony was estimated at 120 in this year.[147]

No reference is made to any slaves being in Maine and New Hampshire until after the close of this period. The combined northern colonies had an estimated 200 slaves in the colonies in 1676 with only a small additional number by 1688.[148] Thus, the continental colonies during this period of study employed an insignificant number of English ships in transporting slaves.

NOTES

CHAPTER VIII

1. Cambridge Modern History, I, 12-14.
2. D'Auvergne, op. cit., 18-21.
3. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 1.
4. Ibid., 14.
5. Williams, op. cit., 7-9.
6. Poyer, op. cit., 42.
7. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 8.
8. Ibid., 9.
9. Edwards, op. cit., II, 46-50. See also D'avenant, op. cit., I, 17.
10. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 10.
11. Ibid., 11.
12. Edwards, op. cit., II, 51-52; Brawley, op. cit., 5.
13. Zook, op. cit., 8-13.
14. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, III, 51-53.
15. Edwards, op. cit., 53-54. See also T70/75, pp. 42, 87, 114; Southey, op. cit., II, 37.
16. Ibid., 54.
17. D'Auvergne, op. cit., 18.
18. Pitman, op. cit., 61-62. See also Poyer, op. cit., 40-41.
19. Zook, op. cit., 72.

20. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 75-77; George MacMunn, Slavery Through the Ages (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1938), 86.

21. Poyer, op. cit., 109-110.

22. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 3662, p. 54.

23. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 324-325.

24. C.O. 1/29, p. 60.

25. Ibid.

26. T70/646.

27. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 189-190, 313.

28. Ragatz, op. cit., 34-36, 87.

29. Merivale, op. cit., p. 40.

30. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 3662, p. 54.

31. Ibid., 2441, p. 19.

32. Edwards, op. cit., I, 350.

33. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 902.

34. Ibid., No. 1204.

35. Ibid., No. 1484.

36. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 91, 216.

37. Beer, Old Colonial System, II, 344.

38. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 316 quoting from T70/936-941 and 314.

39. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 11.

40. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 911; C.O. 29/2, p. 108. See also table p. 234.

41. See table p. 235.

42. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 206.

43. K. G. Davies, op. cit., chap. V.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid. See also Williams, op. cit., 52; Pares, War and Trade, 289.

46. T70/962. The freight per slave was usually £4 to £5 15s. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 263.

47. K. G. Davies, op. cit., chap. V.

48. Bodleian Library, "Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on Trade to Africa, 1789," P. IV, No. 25, Appendix B. See Appendix note 10 for the price of slaves in Barbados and Jamaica 1673-1688.

49. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 267.

50. T70/185, f. 1.

51. W. R. Scott, The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720 (Cambridge: University Press, 1911), II, 21.

52. Ibid., 318.

53. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 3662, p. 54a.

54. Ibid., 2441, pp. 18-20. See also Appendix note 11 for the white and slave population of Barbados 1645-1684.

55. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 618; 1669-1674, No. 1244.

56. Pitman, op. cit., 69.

57. T70/15, f. 17.

58. T70/1, ff. 112-113.

59. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 228-232. See also C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, Nos. 689, 693.

60. T70/1, f. 58.

61. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 1323.

62. Edwards, op. cit., II, 144.

63. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1574.

64. C.O. 318/2, p. 11.

65. Ibid.

66. T70/175, f. 27. Many incidents are cited throughout the Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, as to the large mortality rate of the slave during this period of study.

67. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 284-290, 439.

68. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1336.

69. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2441, pp. 17-18.

70. C.O. 318/2, p. 11; Bodleian Library, "Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on Trade to Africa 1789," Pt. IV, No. 5, Appendix B.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Higham, op. cit., 150-151.

74. Ibid., 143.

75. V. T. Harlow, op. cit., 189, 313.

76. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 680.

77. Higham, op. cit., 151.

78. Ibid., 151-152.

79. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1142.

80. Ibid., No. 1141.

81. Higham, op. cit., 205.

82. C.O. 318/2, f. 11.

83. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 903; 1669-1674, No. 896.

84. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 693.

85. Ibid., 896.

86. British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 530.

87. Higham, op. cit., 145.

88. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 1220.

89. Higham, op. cit., 154.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. C.O.318/2, f. 11. The number of ships employed in 1687 and 1688 were omitted, so the number inserted is on the basis of 244 slaves per ship (which is above average) as indicated in this reference.

93. C.O. 1/29, No. 60.

94. C.S.P.C. 1685-1688, Nos. 1229, 1365.

95. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 16.

96. T70/869, f. 60. See also C.S.P.C. 1574-1660, p. 491.

97. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 934.

98. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 270.

99. C.O. 318/2.

100. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 216. See also C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 673.

101. Ibid., 217-225.

102. T70/1, f. 24.

103. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1575. See also C.O. 138/3, p. 478.

104. C.O. 1/29, No. 60.

105. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 891.

106. Ibid., No. 668.

107. Ibid., Nos. 1293, 1563.

108. Ibid., No. 1349.

109. C.O. 318/2, f. 11.

110. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 938.

111. C.O. 138/4, pp. 156-157.

112. C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 2067.

113. C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, No. 295.

114. Pitman, op. cit., 373-374.

115. Long, op. cit., I, 375.

116. C.O. 1/43, No. 37. See Appendix note 12 for the Negro population of Jamaica.

117. K. G. Davies, op. cit., chap. V.

118. C.O. 318/2.

119. Beer, Old Colonial System, II, 112-113.

120. C.O. 318/2, f. 11; Bodleian Library, "Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on Trade to Africa, 1789," Pt. IV, No. 5, Appendix B.

121. Ibid.

122. K. G. Davies, op. cit., chap. V. See also Appendix note 13 for the distribution of tonnage of the ships.

123. Ibid. See also C.M. MacInnes, England and Slavery (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, LtD., 1934), 39.

124. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870 (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904), 5.

125. C.O. 318/2, f. 18; MacInnes, Gateway of Empire, 127.

126. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade, I, 1-2.

127. R. V. Harlow, op. cit., 27.

128. Brawley, op. cit., 2-3.

129. Wertenbaker, Planters of Virginia, 31.

130. Brawley, op. cit., 6.

131. C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 1110.

132. Brawley, op. cit., 18.

133. R. V. Harlow, op. cit., 27. See also Appendix note 4 for the slave population of Virginia.

134. Williams, op. cit., 10.

135. Brawley, op. cit., 8.

136. C.S.P.C. 1669-1674, No. 546.

137. Brawley, op. cit., 11.

138. Ibid., 10.

139. Wertenbaker, Planters of Virginia, 31.

140. Brock, op. cit., 1.

141. Brawley, op. cit., 10.

142. C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 1067.

143. Brawley, op. cit., 10.

144. C. O. 5/904, p. 65.

145. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1349.

146. C. O. 5/904, p. 50.

147. C.S.P.C. 1677-1680, No. 1360.

148. British Museum, Additional MSS. 28089, p. 10. See also C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 1067.

PART III

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

England, not having a single settlement in America at the close of the sixteenth century, was never expected by the major powers of Europe to become the greatest maritime power of the world. However, England was an island and was forced into trade, for she did not have the resources at home to supply the wants of her people. She lacked the essentials for the building and rigging of her ships; she needed dye for the manufacturing of cloth; and many other commodities that she could not produce at home. The public also demanded its merchant marine to supply them the luxuries of life after foreign trade had introduced such commodities. Thus, her livelihood, trade, and communications depended on her shipping; and through the initiative, aggressiveness, and love of the sea by her people, England eventually became an island of plenty.

The discovery of America was probably the greatest event that ever happened in the history of England, for she was geographically located on the sea lanes to this new land giving her preference to the richest and most valuable stock of wealth in the world. The history of the expansion of England is really the history of the growth and development of the English merchant marine; the growing of her fleet of ships was partially a result of the founding of each additional colony bringing more wealth into England and increasing the shipping of that nation.

The founding of Virginia was the initial permanent colony and the beginning of the development of the large merchant fleet that was to result from the great amount of resources coming from the colonies of the American Frontier. The settlement of Virginia was by private enterprise, and the people of England did not realize for many years later the importance of the Frontier to the nation.

Tobacco was the first valuable export of Virginia, but the commodity was so scarce and expensive in the first half of the seventeenth century that only the affluent could afford the article. The planters of the colony were exporting over 1,000,000 pounds of tobacco by 1629 with the quantity increasing yearly. By 1650 the mother country still had few manufactured articles for export, but was looking to the Frontier for raw materials from which she was to develop her industries. The exports of tobacco by 1663 had reached more than 7,000,000 pounds and six years later the inhabitants of Virginia had raised the figure to more than 9,000,000 pounds. In 1667 about 100 ships loaded Virginia tobacco, which indicated the increased shipping of the colony.

During the 1660s the industry of England was expanding and the merchants began exporting shoes, boots, clothing, nails, guns, and similar necessities into the colony. This valuable article of tobacco along with other products of the Frontier was not only causing an impetus in industry but was affecting the economy of England as a whole by bringing about the construction of new docks, larger and more stowage buildings; the migration of the people of the interior to London and other ports which were participating in the Frontier trade; and indications of prosperity were evident in many other professions. The colonies had become the "farm" of the English people providing them

with new foods and wealth.

The demand for tobacco by the people of England and Europe provided for still greater production of this commodity, with the output in 1675 amounting to more than 11,000,000 pounds with the exports increasing by a million pounds in the following year. England, by this year, was re-exporting approximately one-half of the commodities of the Frontier further denoting the advancement in her shipping and trade. Maryland was exporting about one-third of the amount of tobacco as the colony of Virginia in 1678, but about ten years later, her production was almost commensurate to that of Virginia. The export of tobacco to England from Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina by the close of this study had reached almost 20,000,000 pounds with an additional 3,000,000 pounds being imported into Ireland. Approximately one-half to two-thirds of this commodity by 1688 was being re-exported throughout Europe, resulting in a considerable annual sum in customs to the government and forcing lively trade activities in England. The trade of the three colonies were of such importance to England that approximately 200 English ships by 1688 were annually employed in trafficing with these overseas possessions.

The Middle colonies were of much less importance to England than their southern neighbors, for the products were about the same as that of England, with the exception of beaver skins and similar pelts. The beaver skins were the greatest in demand, and after England obtained New York from the Dutch, the colony began exporting 35,000 to 40,000 skins annually to England. Albany was the fur trading center of the American Frontier with the fur trade depending almost solely upon the traffic with the five Indian tribes in that area.

Approximately £1,000 in pelts were exported from New York between 1674 and 1677. New Jersey and the Pennsylvania area also participated in the fur trade but in much less degree than New York. However, by 1688, the colonies were turning to the utilization of the other natural resources and the production of provisions with the result of the decline of the fur trade with only about 9,000 furs being exported in 1687.

Whaling was another industry of New York and New Jersey; settlers from Massachusetts came to Long Island as early as 1640 and began securing their livelihood from this profession. However, the unsatisfactory equipment for capturing the whale prevented this industry from advancing to of much importance to shipping in this period of study.

New York had the largest population of the Middle colonies and was of more importance in trade to England. These possessions had a lucrative trade to the other Frontier colonies and especially to the West Indies in furnishing the settlers bread, wheat, cattle, and horses. In exchange for these commodities, the merchants imported sugar, tobacco, indigo, molasses, rum, logwood, cocoa, and similar products. In 1669 nine cargoes of tobacco from Virginia were imported into New York. The majority of these commodities was re-exported to England with an occasional load of timber and masts. By 1688 these two colonies were employing approximately fourteen English ships annually, and by the close of the century, New York alone was transacting a total trade with England of £66,978 annually.

The Pennsylvania and Delaware areas were just beginning to be settled in 1682, but as a considerable number of people were already

in the area on the arrival of William Penn, the colonies began to progress more rapidly than if inhabitants had not already been on the land. The products of this area were about the same as those of New York and New Jersey: wheat, peas, flour, pork, bread, butter, and tobacco. The colony began to trade with the West Indies after 1685 and was exchanging the tobacco, sugar, and indigo for manufactured goods of England. In 1682 three ships came to Pennsylvania from England with passengers; three years later, four ships from the port of London registered as proceeding to this colony. The production of tobacco in Pennsylvania was increasing yearly with one-tenth of the produce of that colony in 1697 being tobacco. The increase in production resulted in the trade of the colony with England reaching approximately £23,000 by the close of the century. The number of ships trading to England annually had increased to approximately six by 1688 with a great increase within the first decade of the next century. Thus, the combined total of English vessels employed annually by the Middle colonies by 1688 was approximately twenty vessels.

The New England colonies of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were considered by some contemporaries as prejudicial to the trade, shipping, and economy of the mother country because of competing with her in shipbuilding and in supplying the other colonies with fish and provisions. However, the inhabitants of these possessions became a vent for the industry of England, importing large quantities of shoes, clothing, utensils, plows, and many other finished products.

The produce of the colonies not being in demand in England

resulted in the development of trade with the West Indies and continental colonies. Large quantities of produce of the other Frontier possessions were imported into New England and re-exported to England in English ships. English ships also were coming to the New England coast, taking on cargoes of fish and transporting this commodity to all parts of Europe and especially Spain, Portugal, France, as well as to England and the West Indies. Whaling also was an industry of New England and the products usually became a partial cargo of many of the ships transporting Frontier commodities to England.

Lumber and masts were commodities of these colonies with New Hampshire leading in the production of timber. An occasional cargo of lumber was exported to England with some ships picking up lumber for England in the West Indies that had been transported to those colonies from New England. The mast trade had developed whereby England was importing by 1671 ten cargoes from New Hampshire annually, but England was still able to supply plank from her own forests and occasionally supplementing her supply with plank from the Baltic.

New England was not only the shipbuilding center of the American Frontier, but in 1676 the merchants of England placed an order with the New England shipbuilders for thirty ships. Although ships could be constructed on the Frontier for approximately £4 per ton, the Danes and Dutch could build cheaper, for labor in those countries was much less than in the colonies. Throughout this period of study, the English merchants continued to purchase ships from these countries, as well as to build a considerable number in England.

The New England colonies by 1688 were employing approximately

sixty-nine English vessels with an additional six English built ships owned by merchants of Boston trading to England, and four plantation built ships trading between Boston and England. Thus, the New England colonies were employing a considerable number of ships and men, and augmenting the advancement of the wealth of England.

England acquired possessions in the West Indies which became greater assets to the mother country during this period of study than the continental colonies; however, the mainland possessions in the eighteenth century surpassed the wealth of the West Indies. Barbados was the first most important island settled in the West Indies. The original crops of the island consisted of tobacco, indigo, ginger, and cotton with tobacco being the main money crop. This crop gave way to the competition of the continental colonies, but mainly because of the much greater profit in sugar production. The sugar cane was introduced into the island in 1641, but not until 1647 did the planters begin to successfully learn the art of processing and curing the juice of the sugar cane.

The trade of Barbados was relatively small until the introduction of the sugar industry. The farms were divided into increments of five, ten, twenty, and thirty acres; and planted in tobacco, ginger, indigo, and cotton. The wealth of the planters began to increase slowly in the late 1640s with a greater advancement of trade and production in the ensuing years. The best land on the island in 1650 was producing 4,000 pounds of sugar per acre and a minimum of 2,000 pounds. This commodity being in great demand in England and Europe soon brought the colony into prominence and wealth; sugar became "king" of the island. The planters by 1655 exported more than 13,000,000

pounds of this valuable article to England and 8 years later the amount imported into England was above 16,000,000 pounds. The commodity was of such importance to England that it was put on the enumerated articles list in 1660, and the value of the island by 1666 had become seventeen times as rich as before the introduction of the sugar cane.

The constant demand of sugar forced a continued increased production of this commodity whereby above 20,000,000 pounds were exported in 1669 in addition to ginger, indigo, and cotton. The production of this island was increasing the shipping, trade, and wealth of England as well as effecting a reduction in the price of sugar, making possible the use of this commodity by the lower income groups of the country. Sugar was such a profitable crop that the plantation owners in 1672 were not producing enough food for even one-fourth of the population. All available land was utilized in the planting of sugar and the production of this commodity by 1675 was much more than England could consume resulting in approximately 50 per cent of the commodity being re-exported. Eight years later approximately 26,000,000 pounds of sugar was imported into England from Barbados. In this year 358 sugar mills and works were in Barbados processing the cane juice into muscovado sugar and some white sugar. The island was nothing more than one huge sugar factory.

The number of slaves in the island increased throughout this period of study and the production advanced accordingly. Barbados, by the close of this study was employing about 140 English ships annually, and the island was truly a "rare pearl" in the Crown of England.

The acquisition of Jamaica in 1655 added a prize possession to the

Crown of England, and the people began to realize almost for the first time the value of the West Indian Islands. The superior quality of the sugar of Jamaica became recognized by 1665, and from this date, the progress of the island was almost continuous except during retarding periods, as in time of war and similar factors that are detrimental to production and trade. Jamaica was the largest island of the West Indian possessions and had a greater variety of products than did her sister islands. Pimento, cocoa, cotton, and dyewoods were secondary export items, and an incessant demand for these commodities existed; with the English people requiring greater quantities in the next century.

Approximately 100 vessels of all types were trading to the island by 1670 and exporting more than 1,000,000 pounds of sugar in addition to the secondary crops. The progress of production and trade in this decade greatly exceeded that of the 1660s. In 1677 thirty-five vessels entered the port of London alone from Jamaica and twenty-seven cleared that port enroute to the island in the same year. The number of English ships making their way to Jamaica continued to increase from the inception of the trade of the island. In the decade of the 1670s an average of over 2,000,000 pounds of sugar was exported annually, and the continuing demand for this item in addition to the various other commodities resulted in Jamaica becoming a thriving island of trade and commerce. The island consisted of more than 2,000,000 acres of land, and only 1 acre of every 200 acres was in cultivation in 1670; this meant that the island in addition to its many products had greater potentialities of wealth than any of the other British West Indies. The land was fertile and all crops adaptable to the climate grew

profusely. Sugar was the staple crop and the peoples of England and Europe were demanding greater quantities annually, and the planters endeavored to fulfill these needs. Through the constant supply of the slave labor, the sugar production continued to rise.

The Negroes in the island in 1658 numbered 1,400 and the production and exports at this time were insignificant. The great expanse of land in Jamaica resulted in always a shortage in slaves and indentured servants. The more slaves and laborers only meant the reclaiming of more land and greater profits. The land was free and more territory was available than could be reclaimed for several generations; consequently, the greatest obstacle to production was the lack of labor supply. In 1670 a steady flow of Negroes began to be imported into the island; 111 slaves in this year, 1,640 the following year, and 1,146 in 1672. In the 1680s the planters were requesting the Royal African Company to import 3,000 slaves to 5,000 slaves annually to meet the demands of labor. An even greater shortage of slaves existed in this decade than in the past, for production had greatly increased with England and Europe continuing to absorb all commodities exported from the island. The planters by 1684 owned more than 46,000 slaves with an export in excess of 20,000,000 pounds of sugar. Four years later, more than 26,000,000 pounds were exported in addition to the other products exported from the island. The transportation of this large amount of sugar and commodities from Jamaica by 1688 was employing approximately sixty-five English ships annually.

The introduction of sugar cane into the West Indies and the great demand for sugar on the European market made the slave trade a necessity for the development and production of sugar in the islands.

The slave trade was a lucrative business, for the planters in the West Indies were almost always requesting more Negroes, and especially the plantation owners of Jamaica. A steady supply of slaves flowed into the islands after 1670, although the number of slaves imported did not always fulfill the demand. The Royal African Company between 1680 and 1688 was loading an average of approximately 6,750 slaves annually on the coast of Africa, but due to the death rate, the company was delivering to the West Indies only about 5,150 slaves. The slave trade to the West Indies by 1688 was employing approximately twenty-eight English ships annually with the continental colonies employing about two slave ships; the total being approximately thirty vessels. The slave was truly the life blood of the sugar plantations, without which labor the sugar islands would have never reached their affluent state during this period of study nor would have England increased so much in fame and wealth.

The great store of products and natural resources from the American Frontier hung "...like a horn of plenty.../over England/ and emptied out on it an avalanche of wealth beyond human comprehensions."[1] However, trade and the economy of England did not indicate the influence of the Frontier commodities on England to any great extent until about 1650, with a greater impetus in traffic and goods flowing into England in the 1660s and in ever increasing amounts in the next two decades. Every phase of life in England denoted a great advancement in progress and wealth, especially between 1660 and 1688. New docks and warehouses were being constructed; streets were being paved and lighted; houses were being constructed of better material, more roomy, and with more windows; people were wearing better ap-

parel; there were more rich persons in this period than, apparently, at any previous time in English history; the customs increased from £421,582 in 1661 to £781,987 by 1688.[2] The overall wealth of England had increased from £56,000,000 in 1660 to £88,000,000 by 1688 with an annual advancement of the wealth of the country of £2,000,000 yearly.[3] In addition to these many improvements, the number of merchants and the shipping tonnage of England doubled between 1660 and 1688. The tonnage of the English Merchant Marine in 1691 had reached 500,000 tons.[4]

The American Frontier was employing a considerable portion of this English shipping in 1688 as indicated:

Southern Colonies.	200 ships
Middle Colonies.	20 "
New England.	69 "
Barbados.	140 "
Leeward Islands.	40 "
Jamaica.	65 "
Total	534 ships

Although owing to the risky character of seventeenth century statistics some of these figures may not be absolutely exact, they indicate the great amount of shipping employed by the colonies of the Frontier. Allowing for discrepancies, the colonies were utilizing about 500 English ships annually by 1688, and approximately 40 vessels[5] were being used in re-exporting and distributing a portion of the commodities throughout Europe; with the combined total ships employed directly and indirectly numbering some 540 vessels. The English ships annually trading to the Frontier by 1714 had increased to 1,730 denoting a tremendous advancement in

shipping in the eighteenth century, and further indicating the value of the colonies to England.[6]

Thus, the acquisition and settlement of the American Frontier in its wider term of reference was an uncomprehensible asset to England, resulting in her becoming a leading world power; consistently growing in fame and affluence; obtaining a "far flung empire" unequaled in history; accumulating the largest merchant fleet in the world, which was not only used in transporting products of her own possessions, but the commodities of other countries. And without the Frontier colonies, she might never have attained this greatness.

NOTES

CHAPTER IX

1. Webb, op. cit., 20.

2. Gillespie, op. cit., 158n.

3. D'avenant, op. cit., V. 15.

4. Michael Oppenheim, A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy (London: John Lane, 1896), I, 172-176.

5. Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York, V, 614-615. O'Callaghan estimated about one-twelfth of the number of ships importing the commodities were utilized in re-exporting the goods to European countries.

6. Ibid.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

NOTE

1. Fayle, op. cit., 154. Growth in tonnage of England.

	100-200 tons	200-300 tons	300 tons & upward	total over 100 tons
List of 1560:				
London	16	3	2	21
Other ports	52	4	-	56
Total	68	7	2	77
List of 1577:				
London	35	7	2	44
Other ports	86	3	2	91
Total	121	10	4	135
List of 1582:				
London	57	5	-	62
Other ports	101	11	3	115
Total	158	16	3	177

As there was no register of shipping in the above years, the information comes from the exchequer warrants for bounty payments, and from returns prepared for the council, as an indication of the number of ships available for requisition. Neither authority is wholly satisfactory. The lists of available shipping are without doubt incomplete, but they do give good evidence of continuous growth of the English merchant marine.

2. Brett-James, op. cit., 420, 496, 507. Population of London.

1563. 93,276
1593. 138,000-152,000
1631. 130,000
1643. 211,000
1663. 238,000
1683. 420,000

3. A.E. Smith, op. cit., 309. Emigration of servants from Bristol, 1654-1686 and distribution of such people on the Frontier.

Year	Virginia	Barbados	Nevis	New England	Jamaica	Maryland	Other colonies	Dest. not desig.	Total
1654	40	16	1	--	--	--	--	--	57
1655	115	150	2	--	--	--	1	1	269
1656	136	194	-	--	--	--	--	6	336
1657	179	357	2	1	--	--	2	176	617
1658	172	273	27	6	--	--	17	276	771
1659	254	415	11	--	--	1	--	105	786
1660	167	277	72	--	--	4	14	58	592
1661	334	117	233	--	--	--	13	18	715
1662	510	105	179	27	13	4	4	--	842
1663	157	61	130	28	--	4	18	1	399
1664	120	62	54	11	--	--	10	1	258
1665	241	24	29	1	1	2	10	--	308
1666	255	70	2	3	--	4	--	--	334
1667	221	106	22	1	--	--	--	--	350
1668	280	83	18	9	--	2	--	--	392
1669	109	43	72	11	7	--	1	--	333
1670	158	45	75	9	10	14	14	4	329
1671	147	41	83	8	14	4	5	3	285
1672	192	10	20	--	7	16	8	1	254
1673	63	12	9	--	2	5	--	1	92
1674	186	46	108	13	--	6	2	3	365
1675	283	22	48	12	10	9	9	--	393
1676	158	27	9	--	9	13	3	4	223
1677	120	22	10	2	32	9	6	--	201
1678	133	12	16	7	--	5	4	1	178
1679	37	15	21	8	6	--	5	1	93
1680	45	6	5	--	7	16	--	--	79
1684	24	33	4	1	49	9	11	--	131
1685	47	17	5	1	299	10	9	--	388
1686	1	17	--	3	2	--	1	--	24
Total	4,374	2,678	1,247	162	468	137	167	661	10,394

In the column headed "destination not designated" are included 67 servants going to St. Christopher, 35 to Montserrat, 31 to Antigua, 14 to Newfoundland, 3 to New York, and 17 to Pennsylvania. The 299 going to Jamaica in 1685 may have been Monmouth rebels.

4. Slave population of Virginia

Year	No. Slaves	Reference
1619	20	Wertenbaker, Planters of Va., 124-128.
1624	22-23	Virginia Census 1624-1625, p. 364.

4. (Continued) Slave population of Virginia

Year	No. Slaves	Reference
1640	150	Wertenbaker, Planters of Va., 124-125.
1648	300	Brock, op. cit., V. 82.
1659	300	C.S.P.C. 1661-1668, No. 110.
1670	2,000	Wertenbaker, Planters of Va., 124-128.
1679	3,000	C.O.5/1355, pp. 344-345.
1683	3,000	Brawley, op. cit., 18.
1714	15,000	Wertenbaker, Planters of Va., 124-128.
1756	120,000	Brawley, op. cit., 18.
1774	200,000	Ibid.

5. Importation of tobacco into England from the American Frontier.

Year	Lbs. Tobacco	Reference
1641	1,300,000	Beer, Commercial Policy, 26n.
1662-1663	7,367,140	C.O. 318/1, p. 8.
1668-1669	9,028,046	Ibid.
1675	11,518,000	Wertenbaker, Planters of Va., 115; C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 968.
1676	12,756,500	Ibid.
1681 (Oct. only)	109,000	C.S.P.C. 1681-1685, No. 279.
1685 (3 months)	6,522,012	(Brit. Mus.) Sloane MSS. 1815, p. 35; C.S.P.C. 1689-1692, Nos. 594-595.
1686	19,352,684	Ibid.
1687	18,756,256	Ibid.
1688	19,832,478	Ibid.

6. Ellis, op. cit., I, 88. Prices of sugar in London.

Year	Price Per Lb.
1600	2s. 6d.
1610	1s. 10d.
1620	1s. 6d.
1631	1s. 8d.
1641	1s. 2d.
1650	1s. 6d.
1661	10d.
1675	9½d.
1685	8d.
1690	6d.
1699	7d.
1700	9d.

K.D. Davies, op. cit., Appendix. Sugar prices in London, per cwt.

Year	Price
1674	24s. 6d.
1675	21s. 0d.

6. (Continued) K.D. Davies, op. cit., Appendix. Sugar prices in London per cwt.

Year	Price
1676	23s. 0d.
1677	22s. 0d.
1678	23s. 0d.
1679	21s. 4d.
1680	22s. 0d.
1681	21s. 0d.
1682	19s. 0d.
1683	20s. 3d.
1684	20s. 3d.
1685	18s. 9d.
1686	17s. 6d.
1687	18s. 0d.
1688	23s. 6d.
1689	28s. 4d.
1690	33s. 3d.

7. Library Congress, British Trade MSS. 1662-1790, p. 13.

Imports from the Plantations, 1663:

Tobacco.	7,367,140 lbs.
Sugar (brown).	13,000,000 "
Sugar (white)	1,800,000 "
Cotton-wool.	7,500 bags
Ginger.	200,000 lbs.
Cocoa.	120,000 "
Beaver skins	14,600 "
Otter	4,279 "
Buffalo Hides.	4,202
Indigo	14,000 lbs.
Fustic	433,400 "
Tortoise shells	2,896 "

8. Library Congress, British Trade MSS. 1662-1790, p. 40.

Imports from the Plantations, 1669:

Tobacco.	9,026,046 lbs.
Sugar (brown)	16,677,600 "
Sugar (white)	2,372,000 "
Ginger.	331,800 "
Cocoa.	226,400 "
Beaver skins	13,900
Otter	6,271
Buffalo Hides.	5,276
Indigo.	16,000 lbs.
Fustic	442,000 "
Cotton-wool	6,472 bags

9. C.O. 390/6, ff. 30-34. Goods exported from Jamaica to England in English ships, 1680-1687.

1680

Account of Goods Exported from Jamaica from 25th March 1680 to 25th December 1680 to England only.

Number of ships	30	Tuns Nicoragowood	102
Hoghds of sugar	7125	Sticks "	1350
Bags Cotton	581	Tuns Ebony	21
Bags Ginger	358	Sticks "	558
Tuns "	5½	Tuns Lignum Vitae	46
" Indigo	11½	" Pemento	21
Parcels "	203	Barls & Bundles Pemento	37
Tuns Logwood	49	Hides	11628
Sticks "	196	Bags Cinamon Bark	23
Tuns Fustick	491	Barrils Cocoa	1
Sticks "	4343		

1681

Account of Goods Exported out of Jamaica for England from 25th December 1680 to 25th March 1682

Number of ships	26	Tuns Pemento	57½
Hogsheads sugar	4163	" Cocoa	6½
Bags Cotton	315	" Lime Juice	39
Tuns Indigo	14½	Hides	14950
Barels "	124	Hoghds Tortois Shell	2
Tuns Logwood	506	Barrils Notto	8
" Fustick	242		
" Nicoragowood	84		

1682

Account of Goods Exported from Jamaica from 5th April 1682 to 25th March 1683

	Eng.	Plant.	Total				
Number of ships	40	22	62	Tuns Lignum Vitae	2 3/4		2 3/4
Hoghds sugar	10556	144	10700	" Ginger	19		19
Barls "		4	4	" Lime Juice	17	3/4	17 3/4
Bags Cotton	1874	40	1914	Barrils " "	6	10	16
Hoghds Indigo	33		33	Tuns Cocoa	54	1	55
Barrils "	131		131	Barls "	26	4	30
Tuns Logwood	420		420	Hoghds Pemento	71½		71½
" Fustick	647		647	Barls "	7		7
" Nicoragowood	61		61	Hides	18790		18790
Sticks "	128		128	Casks Tortois Shell	6		6
Tuns Ebony	32		32	Pounds " "	1500		1500
Hoghds Mollasses		68	68	Hoghds Rum		24	24
Barrils "		158	158	Barls "		45	45
				Hoghds Tobacco		2	2
				" Wine		13	13

9. (Continued) C.O. 390/6, ff. 30-34. Goods exported from Jamaica to England in English ships, 1680-1687.

1683

Account of Goods Exported Out of Jamaica from 25th March 1683 to 25th March 1684

	Eng.	Plant.	Total
Number of ships	61	24	85
Hoghds sugar	9803	302	10105
Barrils "		5	5
Bags Cotton	1367	96	1463
Barrils Indigo	200		200
Tuns Logwood	539		539
" Fustick	834½		834½
" Nicoragowood	22		22
" Brazeletto	11½		11½
" Ebony	35		35
Hides	10531		10531
Hides Leather		162	162

	Eng.	Plant.	Total
Tuns Ginger	5		5
Hoghds Cocoa	127		127
" Pemento	290	1½	291½
Barils "	76		76
Hoghds Lime Juice	120	7½	127½
" Tortois Shell	4		4
Bags Sasaparilla	26		26
Ivory Teeth	83		83
Barils Notto	40		40
Tuns Mollasses		17½	
Barils "	57	36	93
Tuns Rum		3 2/3	3 2/3
Pyes Wine		4	4

1686

Account of the Number of ships Departed, and of Good Exported from Jamaica, from 29th September 1685 to 25th December 1686

	Eng.	Plant.	Total
Number of Ships	67	47	112
Hoghds sugar	15387	420	15807
Barls "	184	37	221
Bags Cotton	1134½	426	1560½
Hoghds Indigo	47		47
Barls "	279		279
Bags Ginger	2110		2110
Tuns Logwood	665 1/4		665 1/4
" Fustick	124		124
" Brazeletto	208		208
" Lignum Vitae	18½		18½
Hoghds Pemento	123		123
Barrils "	16		16
Hides	8881	575	9456
Hides Tan'd Leather		90	90
Hoghds Mollasses	427	468	895

	Eng.	Plant.	Total
Barls Mollasses		91	91
Hoghds Lime Juice	210	4	214
Barls " "		16	16
Hoghds Tortois Shell	1		1
Casks " "	3		3
Tuns Elephants Teeth	18		18
Elephants Teeth	532		532
Horns	295		295
Cedar Boards	14		14
Hoghds Notto	24		24
" Rum		75	75
Barls "		24	24
Pyes Wine		35	35
Barls Rum		35	35
Pounds Loaf Sugar		104	104
Hoghds Cocoa	29	4	33

9. (Continued) C.O. 390/6, ff. 30-34. Goods exported from Jamaica to England in English Ships, 1680-1687.

1687

Account of Goods Exported from Jamaica from the 25th December 1686 to 25th December 1687

	Eng.	Plant.	Total		Eng.	Plant.	Total
Number of Ships	48	24	92	Hides	8468	28	8496
Hoghds sugar	11061	125	11186	Hods Mollasses	173	203	376
Barls "	221	30	251	Barls "		34	34
Bags Cotton	1227	73	1300	Hoghds Lime Juice	74	11	85
Hoghds Indigo	37		37	Barls " "	32	6	38
Barls "	224		224	Hoghds Tortois Shell	1		1
Bags Ginger	1321	2	1323	Casks " "	2		2
Tuns Logwood	506½		506½	Elephant Teeth	203		203
Sticks "	1217		1217	Pounds "	600		600
Tuns Fustick	77		77	Bales Sasaparilla	25		25
Sticks "	36		36	Hoghds Rum		9	9
Tuns Brazeletto	103		103	Barls "		42	42
" Stock Fist wood	10		10	Pyes Wine		13	13
Sticks Lignum Vitae	94		94	" Vineager		16	16
" Ebony	346		346	Barls Beef		138	138
Barls Pemento	191		191	" Pork		12	12

1688

Account of Goods Exported from Jamaica from the 25th December 1687 to the 25th December 1688

	Eng.	Plant.	Total		Eng.	Plant.	Total
Number of Ships	56	25	81	Hides Tan'd Leather		194	194
Hoghds Sugar	11985	214	12199	Hoghds Mollasses	164	98	262
Barls "	159	32	191	Barls "		30	30
Bags Cotton	608	56	664	Hoghds Lime Juice	62	1	63
Hoghds Indigo	44		44	" Cocoa	5		5
Barls "	250	1½	251½	Bags "	21		21
Bags Ginger	23	2	25	Hoghds Tortois Shell	2		2
Tuns Logwood	1114		1114	Elephants Teeth	602		602
" Fustick	366¾		366¾	Hoghds Rum		8	8
" Brazeletto	44		44	Barls "		3	3
" Lignum Vitae	9		9	Pyes Wine		10	10
" Ebony	29¼		29¼	Bags Cinamon Bark	53		53
Hoghds Pemento	82	22	104	" Silk Grass	14		14
Barls "	201	4	205	Tuns Sasparilla	1½		1½
Hides	785		785	Bales "	27		27

10. K. G. Davies, op. cit., Appendix. The average price of slaves, to nearest five shillings, sold in Barbados and Jamaica for the years indicated.

Year	Barbados		Jamaica	
	L	S	L	S
1673	18	0	----	
1674	17	0	22	10
1675	15	10	22	0
1676	15	5	21	5
1677	14	0	19	15
1678	14	15	17	15
1679	13	10	17	10
1680	14	0	17	0
1681	13	5	15	5
1682	14	15	15	15
1683	12	10	15	10
1684	13	5	17	10
1685	-----		17	15
1686	14	0	18	5
1687	13	10	14	10
1688	14	5	14	15
1689	16	0	20	10
1690	17	15	24	10
1691	17	5	23	5
1692	18	0	17	15
1693	20	0	20	0
1694	21	5	22	0
1695	-----		20	0
1696	27	10		

11. V.T. Harlow, op. cit., 338. The white and black population of Barbados for the years indicated.

Year	White	Black	Authority
1645	(36,600)	5,680	Sloane MSS. 3662, f. 54a.
1653	30,000	20,000	Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 625
1655	23,000	20,000	Add. MSS. (Brit.Mus.) 11411, f. 9b. Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 625.
1655	25,000	20,000	Cal. Col. 1574-1660, p. 446; Add. 1141, p. 9.
1668	20,000	40,000	Cal. Col. 1661-8, No. 1788.
1669	20,000	40,000	Acts of the Privy Council, I, No. 853.
1673	21,309	33,184	Cal. Col. 1677-80, No. 1101.
1675	21,725	32,473	Cal. Col. 1675 and 1676. No. 812.
1680	?	38,352	Cal. Col. 1677-80. No. 1386.
1681	(20,000)	40,000	Cal. Col. 1681-5, No. 136.
1684	23,624	46,502	Sloane MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 2441, ff. 18-20.

Figures in parenthesis indicate male population only.

12. The Negro population of Jamaica for the years indicated.

Year	No. Slaves	References
1658	1,400	Long, op. cit., I, 375.
1660	4,000	Pitman, op. cit., 48.
1662	5,521	Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. "A" 347, f. 35.
1665	9,598	Pitman, op. cit., 48.
1670	8,000	Ibid.
1673	9,504	Ibid.
1675	9,000 (12 yrs. and above)	C.S.P.C. 1675-1676, No. 74
1679	11,316	C.O. 1/43, No. 37.
1722	80,000	Pitman, op. cit., 48.
1787	210,894	Ibid., 373-374.

13. K. G. Davies, op. cit., Chap. V. The tonnage of ships dispatched to the Frontier with slaves by the African Company, 1680-1688.

Tonnage	No. of Ships 1680-1688
Under 50	11
50-99	58
100-149	85
150-200	34
200-249	31
250-299	11
300-349	6
350-399	3
400 and over	10
	249

The 249 ships averaged 147 tons each.

14. Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, V, 615. The average number of ships departing from England between 1714-1717 for the frontiers are listed below.

England to:	Ships
New England	240
New York	64
Pennsylvania	55
Maryland	108
Virginia	340
Carolina	92
Total for the Continent	899

14. (Continued) Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, V, 615. The average number of ships departing from England between 1714-1717 for the frontiers are listed below.

England to:	Ships
Barbados	347
Antigua	111
Montserrat	25
Nevis	33
Saint Christopher	30
Jamaica	162
Total for the Islands	708
West Indies	123
Total for the Plantations	1730

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Note: Since this thesis was written, two works have been published which examine certain topics of the American Frontier:- Professor Richard Pares' Yankees and Creoles, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956. (Professor Pares' book deals with the trade between North America and the West Indies prior to the American Revolution and is an invaluable survey of this period); A. P. Thornton's West-India Policy under the Restoration, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.